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OSTFORSCHUNG

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Ostforschung
The Role of West German Political Science

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KRAKOWSKIE ZAKŁADY GRAFICZNE — KRAKÓW

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INTRODUCTION

The great development of scientific research in almost every domain of life has not left out the political sciences whose role in the contemporary world is growing increasingly. One of the class incentives for the development of political sciences in capitalist countries is the desire to deal with the "Communist threat." Fear, lest the Communist system emerge victorious throughout the world, is causing increasingly greater resources to be allocated to scientific research, both in the USA and in various European countries. These funds are for the conduct of thorough investigations on the essence of Communism and its theoretical principles, so as to gain knowledge of the mechanism of the socio-political, economic and cultural life in the Socialist countries. The gaining of such knowledge does not, however, represent an end in itself. It is only intended to provide a basis for the development of the most effective methods of combatting Communism and achieving its final destruction.

Hence, more and more research institutes are being organized both at universities and as independent agencies (as separate academic centres). Also, the political sciences are being more generally introduced in the educational programmes of every type of higher school.

"Politology," which is the definition frequently given to political sciences in the West, has shown greatest development in the United States. It is from there that its influence is radiating most strongly to the capitalist countries in Europe. The German Federal Republic provides the most fertile soil for these influences. This is understandable, in as much as the GFR is the only country in Europe openly propagating a programme for the abolishment of the existing European order. In the political concepts of strategy of successive West German governments, the first condition and initial stage on the road leading to a new order in Europe, an order in which Germany would play a decisive role, is the abolishment of the frontiers established as a result of World War II. The existence of a system of Socialist countries constitutes an obstacle to these concepts. Hence, the division of the Socialist camp is a conditio sine qua non *for the success of subsequent West German political plans. No country in Europe has greater interest in destroying the Socialist system in the East European countries than does the GFR. Also, in no other capitalist state in Europe has scientific research on the Socialist countries been so intensively developed and used for disseminating political subversion, as in the German Federal Republic. Traditional research into Eastern affairs, the so-called* Ostforschung, *conducted in Germany over many decades, has facilitated the present development of scientific research on the Socialist countries.*

In this work it is not our intention to present the actual state and achievements of GFR political sciences as such. We shall be mainly concerned with the section whose interests are centered on the Socialist countries.

Another reason for limiting our subject will be to

concentrate attention on the problem of West German research concerned with Poland. This limitation, however, should not produce the impression that Poland is the only or even the principle subject of interest to West German experts on Eastern affairs. In fact, anti-Communism constitutes the overall characteristic feature of this interest and concerns all Socialist countries.

Similarly as the United States, West German politology concentrates attention principally on the genesis and essence of Communism as a world-wide phenomenon and on the Soviet Union as the first and most powerful Socialist country. Alongside the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic represent the most important sector of West German academic penetration.

For this reason it has been deemed pertinent to explain the system of organization of "Eastern studies" as such, together with a brief characteristic of the specific interests of the principle centres of the Ostforschung *system, emphasizing the place Poland occupies in those interests and stressing the political problems connected with Poland. It has also been deemed essential to illustrate the relationship between political concepts prepared by* Ostforschung *centres and the practical implementation of the GFR's political line towards countries belonging to the Socialist camp and in particular towards Poland. The political conservatism of many West German scholars has proved an evil political adviser. Their political concepts have found no confirmation when confronted with reality. Hence, it was decided to take new measures and use new methods for the achievement of the same old goals of former governments, namely the abolishment of the results of the Second World War.*

Transition from conservative and sterile political concepts to a "new Eastern policy" did not, however, put an end to the usefulness of Ostforschung. *The achievements it has to its credit, in fact, include both the political concepts prepared and an extensive stock of information on the Socialist countries. Libraries and archives belonging to Eastern research centres, methods of research prepared over many years, and the experienced academic chair on Eastern problems, will remain a useful implement of aggressive policy for successive governments in Bonn. Political methods may change but the aims of West German policy will always remain the same. West German science, specializing in "Eastern studies" will always continue to serve those aims.*

The principle intention of this work is to demonstrate the the role and range of this section of West German science.

Warsaw, December 1969

Chapter I

OSTFORSCHUNG

Drang nach Osten is a term used by the Germans themselves in definition of their centuries-old concept of pressure on the East European countries aimed at German territorial expansion. *Drang nach Osten,* a policy of conquest in Eastern Europe, has a history over a thousand years long. One may, therefore, affirm without hesitation that this policy represents the most permanent feature in the history of Polish-German relations. In the course of a thousand years the systems and forms of government in the German State underwent repeated change: from the medieval Holy Roman Empire of the Teutonic Nation, through a period of division into principalities, followed by the period of rivalry between Austria and Prussia, the restoration of the Empire, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, right up to the German Federal Republic. All through this period of many centuries, the eyes and hands of the Germans were always extended eastward. The essence has remained unchanged; it is only the forms intended to justify this eastward pressure, which have undergone change. In the beginning, the mission of spreading Christianity to Slavonic lands was meant to provide such justification. This was a mission conducted by fire and sword over many generations, in the name of brotherly love. Later, it was transformed into a mission of civilization and finally it became the need for living space, the *Lebensraum,* under the rallying

call of *Land und Boden.* Now there is only talk of the "right of return," the "right to the fatherland," the "right to self-determination" and the "re-unification of Germany." This last slogan is connected with the creation of the German Democratic Republic, the first Socialist State to be set up on German soil. This State has not only repudiated the expansionist policy of German imperialism, but thanks to its actively conducted peaceful policy, represents a fundamental stabilizing factor in Europe. Conforming with changing conditions during various periods of history, the forms and nature of German eastward pressure underwent corresponding changes. But the pressure itself has continued unchanged over the centuries and the German Federal Republic has no intention of abandoning it now. For the time being its direct aim is *Wiedervereinigung,* or reunification, through the liquidation of the German Democratic Republic. Were this aim to be achieved, the turn would then come for the fulfillment of further and unchanged German imperialist aims. In Poland, nobody nourishes the slightest doubt in this respect. By now, we have become insensitive even to the finest sounding words and even when uttered with as ingratiating a smile. Suspicion on the part of the Poles is not only due to the experiences they suffered during the Nazi occupation or to the double-faced policy of the West German government, as the West occasionally believes, but to the general experiences during Poland's more than a thousand year long existence as a State.

Suspicion alone towards German policy is not sufficient, however. The truth about German policy in all its changing forms and methods, and in the various tools it employs, must not only be recognized, it must also be demonstrated to world public opinion. Poland

has repeatedly had to pay a bitter price in the past for her weakness in face of German aggressiveness. Almost immediately after the war, West German propaganda began intense activity, both at home and abroad. The West German State leadership immediately reached out for the reliable tool of German learning, which under the name of *Ostforschung* specializes in shaping and justifying the policy of *Drang nach Osten*. German pressure eastwards is well known not only in Poland, where many generations had to experience it only too painfully on their own skin. Perhaps less known, however, is the part played by German learning in the implementation of traditional German aggressive policy during this current century. In fact, the role of *Ostforschung* in shaping revisionist GFR concepts, in scientific propaganda indoctrination of the West German community, in spreading revanchist ideas among world public opinion, is vast indeed. Hence, it becomes necessary to shed more light on the historical role played by so-called Eastern studies, in defining and carrying out the political aims of German aggressiveness. This has become all the more necessary now, when "Eastern studies" has attained such vast dimensions in the allegedly peaceful German Federal Republic, unprecedented even in Hitler's Third Reich or during the Weimar Republic.

The historical origins of *Ostforschung* grew from the aggressive aims of German imperialism at the close of the 19th century. Rivalry between capitalist states over newly opened markets, over new sources of raw materials and over division into spheres of political influence, which led to the outbreak of the First World War, aroused German capitalists to action in the field of propaganda. The All-German Union (*Alldeutscher Verband*) was created in 1891, with this end in mind.

It comprised school teachers and members of the clergy, university lecturers, journalists and officials, in short people who could exert significant influence on public opinion, by means of their professional activities, in particular among the German lower and middle classes. Germans domiciled abroad were also members of the Union. They set themselves the task of uniting together the efforts of all Germans to give maximum support for the aggressive aims of the contemporary German State. In an appeal issued by the All-German Union in 1892, we may read the following:

"It was only the great struggles of 1866 and 1870 which led to the formation of a united German State and by the same fact created the foundations which enabled our nation to enter into rivalry with other nations. Continued development of those foundations and winning a world-wide position for our nation is the duty of both the government and the whole nation. It would be erroneous to think that Germany's development has attained its final shape as a result of the conquests won in recent wars.

The aims of the All-German Union were:

1. To awaken patriotic awareness at home and fight every activity opposed to our national development.
2. To cherish and support German nationalist efforts in every country where our compatriots have to struggle in order to uphold their national individuality, and all German elements throughout the world in support of those aims.
3. To render firm support to German political interests both in Europe and overseas. In particular, to assist the German colonial movement in achieving "practical results." [1])

[1]) K. Hirsch, *Signale von rechts — 100 Jahre der Rechtsparteien,* München, 1967.

To achieve these outlined aims, the Union developed unusually active propaganda activity.

Similar activities were undertaken by the notorious reactionary, imperialist, political organization *Hakata*, formed on September 28th, 1894 in Poznań (the current name for the chauvinistic *Ostmarkenverein* — Union of Eastern Marches). Its founders were the German politicians, Hansemann, Kennemann and Tiedemann, hence HKT, derived from the initials of their surnames. The purpose of this organization was the Germanization of Polish lands seized by Prussia towards the end of the 18th century as a result of the partitions of Poland. In order to uphold and develop German elements in these territories, *Hakata* conducted anti-Polish agitation and discrimination against the Polish population in an economic, political cultural, educational and religious sense. Within a short time *Hakata* gained great influence in the German government. Thanks to this it was able to attain many of its political ends, among them the passing of a bill which increased funds for the colonization of Polish territories by 100 milion DM. Those funds were intended to encourage the Germans to remain on Polish territory, where they had been settled mostly against their personal convictions. A large part of the Germans settled on Polish territory as so-called colonizers, either succumbed to colonization themselves, hence the German names which many Poles now bear, or returned back to their places of origin. In fact, alongside the *Drang nach Osten*, the phenomenon of *Ostflucht* [2]) became no less familiar

[2]) *Ostflucht* included not only territories under German occupation but also most of the territory Poland regained after the Second World War. This phenomenon was also due to the economic under-development of those territories. Revisionist slogans calling our regained territories "Germany's gran-

(trend away from the East). Hence, the German authorities endeavoured to create the best possible conditions for those colonizers, to encourage them to remain in this "German outpost" in Poland. Against such a background how miserable are the present complaints of the Union of Germans, allegedly "illegally expelled from their fatherland." The activities of *Alldeutscher Verband* and *Ostmarkenverein* are most painfully engraved in the national memory of Poles, and in particular the *Hakata* activities (*Ostmarkenverein*). *Hakata* members did their best to expell the Poles from their own native land. They prohibited Polish peasants to build houses or new farm buildings. One such memorable case was that of Drzymała and his famous cart-wagon. Michał Drzymała, a peasant from the village of Podgradowice (now Drzymałowo in the Poznań Voivodship) lived there with his family in 1904, because the Prussian authorities refused him permission to build a house on his own land.

The ceaseless efforts at Germanization did not bring the expected results, also because of the united opposition put up by the entire Polish population, including even the children. An example of this was the strike Polish children organized in 1902 in Września, Poznań Voivodship, in protest against being forced to say prayers at school in German. No efforts on the part of the German occupants were of any avail; neither political, economic or even physical pressure had any effect. The population remained Polish despite all that the *Hakata* members, and later the Nazis, could do. They retained their Polish identity, despite the painful wounds and mutilations which they had to suffer in

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ary" and describing a flourishing state of economic development in these areas, find no confirmation in historical truth.

Prussian prisons and later in Nazi extermination camps. Neither were German scholars and scientists successful in helping with the German policy of eradication (*Ausrottung*), and it must be stressed that their efforts in this direction were most intense. The scientific studies they conducted were concerned with problems in the East European countries, and always conformed with the political aims of German imperialism.

J. Hacker, who specializes in *Ostforschung* problems in the GFR, writes as follows on this subject:

"East European studies in Germany have a tradition which goes back several decades. Prior to the First World War studies were conducted mainly in the Vienna and Berlin Universities, where special chairs existed and seminars were conducted. However, after 1918 new centres of study were added in Wrocław (1918), Królewiec (1922) and Leipzig, in 1928. Those earlier studies on Eastern Europe mostly consisted of academic studies of the langugages, literature and history of the nations in Eastern and Central Eastern Europe. Law and economy were only secondary subjects, whereas systematic studies in other domains of life were almost completely omitted. Alongside entirely new problems caused by the Russian Revolution, Poland was the main subject of study." [3])

The period of really flourishing development of various centres of East European studies, mostly in universities, fell between 1920 and 1933. Numerous new university chairs were formed at the time and many periodicals were published, such as for instance *Osteuropa, Zeitschrift für osteuropäisches Recht, Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie,* etc.

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[3]) J. Hacker *Die deutsche Osteuropa-Forschung — Eine Bestandaufnahme,* Europa-Archiv., No. 21/1964, page 808.

Institutes outside of universities were also formed. The first one was created during the First World War, in 1916 in Królewiec, and bore the name of *Institut für ostdeutsche Wirtschaft.*[4]) Its task was to study possibilities of economic exploitation of Russian territories, Poland and the Baltic countries, occupied by the Germans at that time. The *Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas* was also organized in Królewiec. In 1918 the *Osteuropa-Institut* was created in Wrocław, with the purpose of, as Professor Dr P. Niels, expert on Slavonic affairs, explained in the organ of the German Mining and Foundries Industry *Zeitschrift des Berg- und Hüttenmännischen Vereins*: "looking across Poland towards Byelorussia and the Ukraine towards... Serbia and Bulgaria, towards... Greater Russia, because that is the purpose for which the organization was created by people endowed with practical experience." [5]) This centre was financed by Friedrich Krupp, Silesian mine owners, the heirs of Giesche, the Wrocław Rail Coach Factory, Linke Hoffman, the Silesian Province Administration and by the Prince Bishop of Wrocław, Dr Bertram; each disbursed from 20 to 100 thousand DM to this end.[6])

The *Ostland-Institut,* headed by Professor E. Keyser, was organized in Gdańsk. The *Südostforschung* institutes in Dresden, Munich and Leipzig served Ger-

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[4]) J. Hacker, *Entwicklung der Ostforschung seit 1945, Sonderdruck des Landesbeauftragten für staatsbürgerliche Bildung und des Landes Kuratoriums Unteilbares Deutschland Schleswig-Holstein;* the previous name of this institute was: *Wirtschafts-Institut für Russland und die Randstaaten* (Author's note).

[5])Quotation from F. H. Gentzen and E. Wolfgramm *Ostforschung-Ostforscher,* Berlin 1960.

[6]) Ibid.

man imperialist penetration in the Balkans and the Danube countries.

Towards the end of the twenties some of the Eastern scholars suggested cooperation with the Soviet Union, perceiving opportunities for economic advantages in such a policy; this might have saved many German enterprises from ruin during the period of economic crisis. But the attitude taken by those scholars must not be identified with any sympathy for the Soviet Union. Like everybody else engaged in "Eastern studies" they were fiercely opposed to Communism. While proposing economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, they were calling for anti-Communist measures to be taken in Germany.

The scientific penetration and propaganda, developed up till 1933 within the framework of *Ostforschung*, rendered significant assistance in preparing Hitler's access to power. Such professors as H. Aubin, M. H. Boehm, H. Koch, T. Oberländer, B. Richthofen, E. Kordt, E. Lemberg, B. Meissner and others, rendered particularly great services to this end.

Despite the fact that many prominent "*Ostforschers*" (Eastern studies experts) are now denying having ever supported Nazism, a significant majority among them rendered faithful service to that regime, right up to the very end. We will have occassion to refer to many of them again, when discussing *Ostforschung* activities in the German Federal Republic. With Hitler's access to power *Ostforschung* was reorganized and developed to suit his plans of large-scale aggression.

In countries where a German minority existed, many organizations sprang up, with the purpose of supporting *Ostforschung* activities by collecting and transmitting information needed for carrying out the Third Reich's plans of aggression. *Ostforschung* scholars

played a leading role in those organizations. Within Germany proper, the following organizations were formed: German Union for the Defence of Germanism in Border Territories and Abroad (*Deutscher Schutzbund für das Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*) and the Union of Germans Abroad (*Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*). In these organizations scholars again played a leading role (among those still known today were T. Oberländer and M. Boehm, the post-war director of the *Ostdeutsche Akademie* in Lüneburg).

Ostforschung was given a new task, this time it was purely and simply espionage. *Ostforschung* was to transmit information of an economic, political and military nature. It fulfilled this task with truly German thoroughness. This may be demonstrated on the example of the report it transmitted in 1934, on the "production capacity and raw material needs of the Polish pig-iron and steel industries in the event of war." [7])

In December 1933, the North and East German Study Union (*Nord- und Ostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) was created. It was directed by Professor J. Brackmann and Professor A. Aubin in collaboration with Dr J. Papritz (its present heir is the *Johann Gottfried Herder Forschungsrat* in Marburg). This organization was created for the purpose of uniting the efforts and actions of *Ostforschers* both at home and abroad, efforts which had previously been disunited and direct them into one single course of scientific espionage.[8]) *Ostforschung* cooperation with the SS and

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[7]) Gentzen and Wolfgramm, op. cit., page 85.

[8]) Concerning the role played by this organization in aggressive policy against Poland, (compare the article by R. Goguel: "*Die Nord- und Ostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft im Dienste der faschistischen Agressionspolitik gegen Polen 1933—1945*"),

SD was not sufficient to satisfy the Third Reich leadership. Hence, the so-called *Wannsee-Institut* was assigned parallel duties and became directly responsible to the central organs of security.[9])

In 1936 the so-called Kursell Office was formed (*Büro von Kursell),* with the purpose of coordinating all scientific espionage and subversive activities directed against the East. In 1937 this "Office" was transformed into the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* and made responsible to the SS. Amongst others it supervized and controlled the activities of *Ostforschung* and of such organizations as the Union of the German East (*Bund deutscher Osten*) whose chief up till 1938 was T. Oberländer, and the National Union of Germans Abroad (*Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland*).

The Third Reich was greatly indebted to the efforts of various *Ostforschung* centres. Many of its employees were awarded high decorations and distinctions for their work. In fact, many of them served not only with their scholarly experience and advice, but took a direct part in plundering and murder. This fact did not prevent those people from occupying high ministerial positions and performing leading functions in institutes and university chairs connected with "Eastern studies" in the German Federal Republic.

West German authors and *Ostforschung* academic workers in particular, are unwilling to mention the 1933—1945 period, and as a rule pass over it in silence in their publications. But whenever any of them break this conspiracy of silence on *Ostforschung* in the Third Reich, the statements made are hypocritical and ob-

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Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Annal No. 15 (1966) Book 5.

[9]) Ibid.

viously untrue. Jens Hacker, a previously mentioned expert on *Ostforschung* white-washing and a declared anti-Communist,[10]) deliberately avoids mentioning this period in his publications. Once only did he find it necessary to explain his attitude towards this period, and this is what he said: "For twelve years National Socialism constituted such a terrible catastrophe for Eastern studies, that nothing comparable had ever before hit any other field of study. Hitler's anti-Russian, anti-East European and anti-Jewish attitude, his efforts to make Eastern studies subject to his goals, resulted in a significant fall of academic standards in this field of study. Obstacles were placed in the path of many scholars; many were removed from their institutes, or forced to emigrate. Many scholars gave up their academic plans and transferred to other domains of science where no such strong political pressure was exerted.

"During the war and in the post-war period, certain universities, institutes and scientific libraries on territories east of the Odra-Nysa line were lost to Eastern studies. The German University in Prague became a total loss to German research work, and *immediately after* (author's emphasis) 1945 contacts with Austrian universities were limited. Many well-known scholars died either during the war or later, such as, for instance, O. Auhagen, T. Braun, H. Doerries, O. Franck, O. Hoetzsch, G. Laehr, J. Pfitzner, G. Sacke, M. Sering, F. Specht, K. Stachlin, and L. Silberstein." [11])

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[10]) Compare the work of J. Hacker "*Legenden um das Potsdamer Abkommen*" in the collective work *Macht und Recht im Kommunistischen Herrschaftssystem, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik,* Köln, 1965.

[11]) J. Hacker, "*Osteuropa-Forschung in der Bundesre-*

In the course of subsequent reasoning we will learn what this "removing and placing of obstacles" in the path of *Ostforschung* academic workers really meant and what "giving up" work signified in connection with such employees as K. Lück, O. Kossmann, H. Aubin, J. Papritz, T. Oberländer, G. Rhode, R. Breyer, R. Wittram, F. Valjavec, J. Matl, H. Koch, B. von Richthofen and many others. We will also find out how people compromised through their cooperation with Hitler are, in fact, being "kept away" from work in institutes and universities in the German Federal Republic. Leading *Ostforschung* members approved the aims of Hitler's Reich, voiced chauvinistic ideas, glorifying Germany's Eastern Mission and propagated racial theories and discrimination against other nations.

During the Second World War criminal activities of the Nazi occupants were given added support by *Ostforschung* members, who provided ideological justification for every Nazi undertaking with the help of "scientific" arguments. Following the German occupation of Poland, *Ostforschung* members came out with the old statement spread by German propaganda that "the Vistula is an old German river." [12])

Some *Ostforschung* scholars (T. Oberländer, H. Koch, W. Markert, O. Schiller, H. J. Seraphim and others) took part in the military operations of Nazi armies and performed important military functions, usually in the Intelligence Service in Eastern Europe.

The German Institute of Eastern Labour (*Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit)* with headquarters in Cracow played a very specific role during the Second World

publik." Das Parlament, Beilage, page 1, 1960. Translated by KKBN Warsaw, 1961.

[12]) D. Krannhals, *Die Weichsel,* Leipzig, 1942.

War. It came directly under Governor General Frank, sentenced to death by the Nüremberg Tribunal and executed. On April 20th, 1940, Hitler's 51st birthday, this Institute was formally constituted at a ceremony in the old Gothic Library of the Jagiellonian University.

Its president, Governor General H. Frank, announced at the opening ceremony:

"Provided that in the course of its activities this Institute proudly upholds the banner of Adolf Hitler, we can rest assured that the German spirit, with the support of our wonder-weapons, will conquer. Our victory will secure Germany's future on these German Eastern territories. Here, in Cracow, a great centre of German study is now being opened. Its task will be to organize the German population in these Eastern territories... Its influence must radiate to scientific and cultural sectors... The Polish nation in the Government General must submit *en masse* to their situation, created by history, and recognize German protection." [13])

Nazi authorities allocated large resources for the development of this Institute. Work was conducted in eleven sections: ancient and modern history, history of art, racial problems with particular emphasis on Jewish affairs, law, economics, languages, local problems, agriculture, gardening and forestry.

The Cracow Institute established two subsidiary branches, one in Warsaw and another in Lvov. They were to study Galician problems, problems of outlying Eastern and South Eastern territories, the Warsaw district, East and West Prussia and the Baltic States. The Institute prepared and organized economic plunder

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[13]) *Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit,* Krakau, Jahrbuch 1941.

in the East, the "final solution" of the Jewish question and the extermination of Polish intellectuals. It also helped to prepare Hitler's conquests in the East.

Following Germany's defeat in 1945 and the "disaster" which *Ostforschung* itself suffered, employees of that organization lost no time in starting up activities again. The first signal for reopening former scientific subversion and propaganda work against East European countries came in 1946 after Churchill's infamous speech at Fulton, which foreshadowed the reversal of the former alliance of the anti-Hitler coalition period. Only six months later the first *Ostforschung* employees opened activities in the so-called *Göttinger Arbeitskreis*. This organization remains one of the most politically aggressive and dangerous *Ostforschung* centres. General Marshall requested those first postwar members of "Eastern studies" to prepare a memorandum argumenting against the Odra-Nysa frontier. *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* fulfilled this request and the arguments it prepared were used by General Marshall at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow in March 1947.

This first task confided by the American occupying authorities resulted in the rapid re-emergence of *Ostforschung*, which soon entered upon a stage of tremendous development.

A few words should be devoted here to a general characteristic of *Ostforschung*. Owing to changes in the balance of political forces in the world, a process of ideological and political change within *Ostforschung* also occurred and became the most active centre of anti-Communist concepts and propaganda in Europe. Although the main shaft of its activities is directed against the Socialist states in Eastern Europe, understandably so in view of their geo-political situation,

this does not signify that *Ostforschung* is interested in East European affairs only.

Hence, we shall consider other organizations and research centres, and academic workers, whose scientific and propaganda activities are directed against Communism, as part of *Ostforschung,* no matter what domain of science they may represent. All those to whom membership in the traditional *Ostforschung* is still dear, have a place in this anti-Communist campaign, on par with those who are unwilling to admit former contacts with *Ostforschung* and prefer calling themselves "Sovietologists," "Kremlinologists" or "politoligists."

Despite the fact that some combatant anti-Communists in academic centres disclaim *Ostforschung* membership, we will continue using this term, not only because it is in general use both in the German Democratic Republic and German Federal Republic but to emphasize its old anti-Communist traditions, so very characteristic in *Ostforschung* history.

In certain Polish and GDR publications you meet the statement that work in *Ostforschung* centres is not conducted on a strictly scientific basis, that it is full of propaganda, distortions and falsehoods. What attitude should be taken towards this statement? It is a fact that although *Ostforschung* has not selected research of objective scientific truth as its principle aim, and that on the contrary it has purely political ends in view, nevertheless it does utilize scientific methods to present its distortions and falsehoods. It is also a fact that many professors and other academic workers are committed to the struggle against the Socialist countries and Communist ideology, within the framework of the *Ostforschung* organization. On the strength of their scientific knowledge, they serve gov-

ernment and party politicians with advice and assistance which is a source of serious danger.

This danger is not diminished by the fact that academic centres engaged in the struggle against Communism have no uniform organization and are not subject to single leadership. Dr Alard von Schack complains of this lack of coordination existing throughout the "free world" and declares: "In West Germany, for example, there exist over a dozen organizations and institutions engaged in Eastern studies and psychological war against Communism, but their activities remain uncoordinated. Not one of them has sufficient strength or financial resources to achieve anything decisive... Some counter-balance must oppose at long last the authoritarian leadership which exists on the opposite side." [14])

Schack's statements concerning the number of scientific centres must not be taken literally. It will be demonstrated further on that such centres do not number "over a dozen" but, in fact, far more numerous.

The fact remains that although lacking full organizational coordination, they are united together by their common militant anti-Communism. Alongside institutes which are independent of any university, institutes attached to universities and even special universities exist, engaged in the anti-Communist struggle, for instance the Ratisbon University, which specializes in such problems. At all the universities and higher schools, institutes or chairs of political science exist, as well as so-called *Collegia Politica.* In certain universities, special Senate commissions have been set up, with the object of introducing *Ostforschung* problems

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[14]) A. von Schack, "*Der Geistige Kampf in der Koexistenz,*" *Aussenpolitik,* No. 11/1962, page 773.

in the studies of individual faculties. Numerous seminars are organized to discuss "Eastern problems." Alongside the vast development of the organizational network of *Ostforschung* centres of various type, yet another characteristic feature of this organization must be emphasized, which to some extent substitutes the lack of coordination. The most eminent specialists, as a rule university professors, are members of several organizational presidia simultaneously, that is to say, of several *Ostforschung* institutes. They take part in various coordinating assemblies, are members of many editorial committees, publishing boards, etc

Among the people who set the tone in the entire *Ostforschung* activity, there exist many scholars who rendered great service to the Third Reich. Just as the German Federal Republic has not severed its ties with compromised Nazis but, on the contrary, based its policy on their cooperation and offered them the highest positions in the State and party, so also *Ostforschung* continues to make use of the leadership and experience of prominent Nazis.

The fact that professors engaged in scientific and propaganda work in *Ostforschung* institutions at the same time hold academic chairs at schools of higher learning provides opportunities to permeate the educational programme in these schools with anti-Communism. Those opportunities are made full use of. The poisoning of educational programmes with political propaganda is not confined to the education of academic youth. *Ostforschung* studies contribute to the so-called *Ostkunde* (knowledge about the East) which has been introduced in the programme of education of every school in West Germany. Hence, it may be affirmed that *Ostforschung* exerts influence on the entire system of education of both academic and school

youth. But *Ostforschung* is not content with those achievements and does not confine itself to exerting political influence over the youth. It reaches out even further. Its centres organize thousands of public lectures annually and extend their influence over ever wider sections of the West German community. They organize exclusive courses on Eastern problems (*Ostkunde*) for school teachers and people working among the youth. Similar courses are also organized for professional military personnel.

This does not exhaust all *Ostforschung* activities. Its principle purpose is political in the strictest meaning of the word. Influence exerted by the GFR government on *Ostforschung* activities and vice versa, *Ostforschung* influence on the government, the political parties, revanchist organizations, such as the Resettlers' Union, on the *Landsmannschaften*, etc., is a fact which can be easily proved. It would be enough to recall that *Ostforschung* organizations and institutions congregate not only academic workers but also politicians on the local and federal level, mostly in organs of collective leadership. This can easily be seen by comparing the political concepts of F. J. Strauss with those of such an eminent *Ostforschung* representative as Dr K. Mehnert. Hence, it is not surprising that when comparing the actual direction of GFR policy with the direction of *Ostforschung* activities, the obvious convergence between them becomes immediately apparent. The inspiration contained in opinions prepared on orders from above are supplemented by countless scientific and journalistic efforts. Daily newspapers, periodicals, the radio, films and television make willing use of such works. *Ostforschung* employees exert a great and partly direct influence on all mass media. This is, among others, due to the fact that many of them be-

long to groups directing various organs of the press, radio and television.

Ostforschung propaganda activities are not only intended to influence West German society. Intense and systematic subversive propaganda is also directed against the GDR and other European and non-European countries. *Ostforschung* has the strongest ties with "Sovietology" institutes in the United States, not only ideological and propaganda ties, but financial ones as well. American capital has always given material support to *Ostforschung* activities in the GFR. Numerous periodicals are published abroad by *Ostforschung* in the local language, above, all in English, Spanish, Portuguese and German (for Austria and Switzerland). Latin American and newly liberated African and Asiatic countries are the first concern of anti-Communist and anti-Polish propaganda. As concerns Europe, numerous ties exist between West German institutions and corresponding ones in Austria and Switzerland.

In order to supplement this short review of *Ostforschung* activities, we must add that the GFR grants hospitality to all sorts of émigré organizations, which conduct their own political, journalistic, and scientific espionage activities, directed against the Socialist countries. The *Institut zur Erforschung der UdSSR* in Munich may serve as an example.

Were we to characterize *Ostforschung* activity in one single sentence, we would say it exerts influence on political sciences and general teaching in the entire educational system in the GFR. It has significant influence on the shaping and scientific justification of GFR policy and is a forge of anti-Communist propaganda in the GFR and in many other countries.

Doubtless a large number of the *Ostforschung* em-

ployees concerned would refute this characteristic. In his article "A Review of the More Important *Ostforschung* Centres in the GFR" (*Przegląd Zachodni* — Western Review No. 2, 1959) J. Sobczak included the following definition of *Ostforschung*: "At present the term *Ostforschung* is applied to the section of West German studies concerned with East European affairs in general, both in their historical and contemporary aspect, and amongst others serves to justify scientifically various German revisionist claims against the countries of East and South-East Europe."

Despite the fact that this is a rather circumspect definition, it was enough to cause annoyance to J. Hacker, whom we have already mentioned. In reply to J. Sobczak's article he rambled about "attacks against Eastern studies in the German Federal Republic"... and went on to "explain" that the term "Eastern studies" means the study of Slavonic languages and literature, history, law, politics, economics, sociology, geography, Church history and philosophy in the countries of East, South-East and Southern Europe. These include Russia (the Soviet Union), Poland, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. Political events in East-Central Europe subsequent to 1945 led to the fact that East Germany, on the opposite side of the Odra and Nysa is now a subject of "Eastern studies." Hacker does not say a single word concerning the purpose of those studies, nor does he explain why there are no comparable "Northern" or "Western studies" in the GFR, and in particular why is it that the area of *Ostforschung* interests coincides so exactly with the geographical area of the Socialist countries. Such an explanation can be found in the work *Ostforschung-Ostforscher* by

F. H. Gentzen and E. Wolfgramm [15]) which, without providing a strict definition, names *Ostforschung* as a product and tool of imperialism, an amalgamation of former *Drang nach Osten* ideology and contemporary anti-Communism. If the GFR considers former German imperialist policy in its compromised form as ineffective and therefore useless, this does not mean that political leaders in the GFR have abandoned their ancient aims of a *Neuordnung Europas.* The GFR harbours the delusion that fulfillment of those aims is still possible with the help of a common anti-Communist front in the "free world." Dr K. Westen, who belongs to the younger generation and is assistant professor of Eastern Law at Freiburg University, as well as *Regierungsdirektor* in the *Bundesinstitut für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien* in Cologne, stated:

"*Ostforschung* and affiliated studies from the outset had never been intended as art just for art's sake, as it is said, not always justifiably so, about certain other studies bordering on the humanities. *Ostforschung* as a whole, and in particular *Ostrechtforschung* (study of Eastern Law) as well as the study of law as such, all have some specific aim. They are concerned with a specific reality and with the basic factors conditioning it, and endeavour to create mental, political and economic conditions which would deal successfully with the phenomenon of world Communism, particularly in its present form." [16])

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[15]) Gentzen and Wolfgramm, *Ostforschung — Ostforscher,* Berlin 1960.

[16]) K. Westen, "*Methodische Vorfragen der Ostrechtforschung*" in the collective work *Macht und Recht im Kommunistischen Herrschaftssystem,* page 307, Köln, 1965.

Although this definition of *Ostforschung's* aims is not as yet generally accepted, it is becoming increasingly popular among academic workers in West Germany. Such an attitude entails a significant extension of their fields of interest, until recently confined to East European territory. In actual fact *Ostforschung* is beginning to include such countries as Cuba, Vietnam and Korea, and even Third World countries, in the sphere of its interests, in order to oppose the growing influence of the world-wide Socialist system.

The traditional name of *Ostforschung* is losing more and more of its original significance due to its changing interests. By altering its basic significance and adapting the direction of its activities to the new balance of political forces in the world, it is increasingly earning its definition as the "principle centre of anti-Communism ideology in Europe."

The fact that *Ostforschung* is becoming increasingly anti-Communist does not mean that anti-Communism constitutes an entirely new fact in its history. Anti-Communism is as old as Communism itself.

As concerns *Ostforschung* it will be sufficient to recall its anti-Communist nature in the period between 1939 and 1945 as well as its earlier edition in the Weimar Republic. But whereas at the beginning of its existence, anti-Communism was not *Ostforschung's* principal aim, it is now becoming its fundamental purpose.

Chapter II

THE *OSTFORSCHUNG* ORGANIZATION

Ostforschung institutes and organizations are not operated as part of a centrally coordinated system. To some considerable extent this is due to the federal structure of West Germany. Like many universities and other higher schools in West Germany, *Ostforschung* institutes possess their own separate laws decreed by the governments of the Lands in which they operate, and from the formal and legal point of view are not subject to national leadership.

Ostforschung is engaged in studies which either form part of university faculties or are conducted at centres unattached to universities. The opinion that studies at centres outside of universities are plainly and openly political in nature, whereas those at universities have fewer political accents and lay main emphasis on didactic work, are quite unfounded. Both trends of study are calculated to meet the political needs of West German revisionists. The only real difference between them is that the university trend is also concerned with the education of academic youth, which centres unattached to universities are not engaged in, as a rule. The latter specialize in collecting and preparing information on the East in a far more extensive manner than the university centres do. It is an interesting fact that names of the same experts on Eastern problems

may often be found both in university and extra-university centres. This goes to prove the existence of mutual ties between those centres which help each other in research work, exchange information and expert opinions and organize lectures and courses.

As the revisionist compaign develops and the political demands of expellee organizations and institutions and of state and party leaders grow, the State increases its financial support for "Eastern studies." At a session on June 3rd, 1953 the Bundestag by a large majority passed a resolution to give adequate support to scientific studies and education on the problems of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe within the entire system of education, in collaboration with Land governments. It also decreed that Federal authorities should give special encouragement to the study of cultural, philosophic, religious, historical, legal and economic problems.[1])

The principal *Ostforschung* centres are situated in West Berlin despite the fact that it does not form part of the GFR, in Munich, Göttingen, Stuttgart, Marburg, Kiel, Cologne and Lüneburg. Those are the cities in which the principle institutes and organizations engaged in the study of "Eastern" problems are located. Despite the fact that their activities are not fully coordinated, their influence radiates over the whole of the GFR. Its organizational contacts reach far beyond the frontiers of West Germany. Although they lack full coordination, it must not be supposed that *Ostforschung* activities are conducted quite independently of each other. In actual fact, there exist many organizations whose purpose is to coordinate activities of various *Ostforschung* centres. Some of the best known

[1]) J. Hacker, *Die Entwicklung der Ostforschung seit 1945*, Schleswig-Holstein 1958.

scholars are members of their authorities, people who are also engaged in numerous other functions, including State office.

THE GERMAN SOCIETY FOR EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

The principal coordinating institution is the German Society for East European Studies (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde*). It was formed in 1949 and continues the traditions of the German Society for East European Research (*Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas*) which ever since 1913 had been under the direction of Professor O. Hoetzsch, one of the principal creators of *Ostforschung*. A member of the extreme right-wing *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* and of the *Alldeutscher Verband*[2]) under the Empire, he was both scholar and an active politician, representing the extreme right-wing of German nationalism, from the very beginning.

At present this Society has branches in many cities in the GFR. In 1960 it had about 557 members,[3]) mostly scholars, politicians and representatives of business circles. Such membership is characteristic of the overall aspect of *Ostforschung* research work, which has always been based on close cooperation between academic workers, German capital and government authorities. The direct object of the Society is by no means the development of academic studies. In fact,

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[2]) W. Chełmikowski, "*Ostforschung i aparat organizacyjny ziomkostw*". (Ostforschung and the Landsmannschaften Organization Apparatus). A selection of materials from the Supreme TRZZ Council conference, Warsaw 1967.

[3]) H. Schlesinger, "*Zur Mitwirkung der Ostforschung an der Bonner Ostpolitik*", Informationen, No. 3/1966, page 14.

its main purpose is to encourage initiative in various academic centres and to provide opportunities for the exchange of opinions by organizing annual and extraordinary congresses. Those congresses have a definite agenda and are attended by German and foreign scholars. Foreign experts on Eastern affairs can become ordinary members of this Society.

THE SOUTH-EAST EUROPE SOCIETY

Another organization whose main purpose is to coordinate the work of *Ostforschung* centres is the South-East Europe Society (*Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft*).

It was founded in 1952 by the Association of Friends of South-East Europe in Munich (*Freunde Südosteuropas*).

It has 435 members, including many Austrian *Südostforschung* workers.

Professor F. Valjavec, director of the *Südostinstitut*, first conceived the idea of founding this Society. This is not without significance in view of the professor's life history. During the last war Professor Valjavec directed a centre of espionage in the German Consulate in Cernauti in Rumania. In this capacity he played a significant role in encouraging subversive action by Ukrainian fascists active in northern Bukovina from the outset of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union. [4]) Valjavec's work gains all the greater political significance in view of the fact that he was assistant professor at the Berlin Political College (*Berliner Hochschule für Politik*) which was under SS supervision. Also, the *Südostinstitut* which he directed from

[4]) Gentzen and Wolfgramm, *Ostforschung-Ostforscher*, page 90.

1955 had been created under that same name in 1930 by Nazi supporters. [5])

Members of this Society are divided into ordinary members, supporting members, affiliated and honorary members. The Society shows a tendency toward exclusiveness and accepts only specially selected people for membership. It also keeps a separate file of so-called "interested people" which includes about 3,200 names.

In addition to the presidium, the Society also has a board formed in 1960 which has 46 members. These include ministry officials of the Federal and Land governments, bankers, representatives of industrial concerns and members of parliament. The board has the right to issue "directives to all organs of the Society on matters of essential significance to the work in the South-Eastern sector." *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft* has special interest in drawing economic profit from South-Eastern Europe, which is proved by the fact that the following companies are represented in the society authorities: the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerzbank, the German Natural Gas Company Ltd, (Deutsche Erdöl AG), the Daimler-Benz Concern AG, Klöckner — Humboldt — Deutz Concern, Siemens, Otto Wolff Phoenix — Rheinrohr AG, Gutehoffnungshütte AG (The Good-Hope Foundry), Krauss-Maffei, *Ostausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft* (Commission for the German Water Economy), [6]) and many others.

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[5]) Compare Gentzen and Wolfgramm, op. cit., page 117.

[6]) In 1966/67, the following new members entered the Board: Dr R. Brinckmann (Bankhaus Brinckmann, Wirtz und Co., Hamburg), G. Fuchs (Member of the Commerzbank AG Board of Directors, Düsseldorf), E. Hebermann (Comano Lugano), A. Hansi (member of the Berlinerbank AG Board of Direc-

It should be underlined that F. Valjavec is not the only pillar of his Society with a "brown" past. Some of its actual active members such as Ronneberger, J. Matl [7]) and E. Turczyński can boast a similar distinction. Concepts of the new policy of "softening up" Socialism originated in the mid-sixties. This policy was represented, above all, by the American concept of "building bridges in Eastern Europe" and its counterpart in the GFR, namely the "new Eastern policy." This policy favours renewal of such initiatives as inviting scholars from Socialist countries to attend so-called "round table" conferences. It also proposes to set up joint study groups in the GFR which bring material benefit to those attending.

In order to bring more life into the Society's activities, new branches have been organized in cities other than Munich, known as "working groups" (*Arbeitsgruppen*), in 1963 in Erlangen, in 1965 in Dortmund and in 1966 in Cologne, Hamburg and West Berlin. The Society also maintains lively relations with centres in Austria.

Amongst others, those relations are based on cooperation in organizing joint scientific sessions, exchanging publications, mutual invitations, etc.

The Society also maintains widespread contacts with

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tors, West Berlin), A. Jebens (Director of Organ-Chemie, Vienna), Professor E. Lichtenstein (Stuttgart), H. von Papen (Director of Gutehoffnungshütte, Aktienverein, Frankfurt), Dr H. Wolff (member of Krauss-Maffei AG Board of Directors, Munich).

[7]) Professor J. Matl, an Austrian historian and expert in Slavonic Philology from Graz, during the war he commanded sabotage units and was head of the Wehrmacht Intelligence Department in the Balkans (G e n t z e n and W o l f g r a m m, op. cit., page 112).

the *Institut für Ostrecht* in Munich, the *Institute für Auslandsbeziehungen* (Institute for Relations with Foreign Countries) in Stuttgart, the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde* and the *Rheinische-Westfälische Auslandsgesellschaft* in Dortmund, the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (Service for German Academic Exchange), the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Inter Nationen,* and others.

It becomes evident from this short resume that in conformance with the "flexible" line of policy recently adopted by the Bonn government towards Socialist countries, the *Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft* is engaged in preparing academic contacts, to gain economic and political influence in South-East Europe for the GFR.

In addition to those two societies, other organizations coordinating *Ostforschung* activities also exist, known as coordinating corporations (*Koordinierende Gremien*). Three of them work on a supra-regional basis and four on a regional scale. The supra-regional corporations are:

Coordinating Committee for German Eastern Institute (*Koordinationsausschuss der deutschen Ost-Institute*),

The Senate Commission on German Eastern study Groups (*Senatskomission für Ostforschung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft*),

Working group engaged in East-West problems (*Arbeitskreis für Ost-West Fragen.*

The following are regional corporations:

The Christian Albrecht's University in Kiel (*Christian Albrechts-Universität*),

The Eastern Studies Group attached to universities in Rheinland-Westfalia (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ost-*

forschung an den Universitäten Nordrhein-Westfalens),
Munich University,
Eastern Law Studies Group in Hamburg (*Studiengrouppe Ostrecht Hamburg*).

The Federal Eastern College of Service to the Fatherland (*Ostkolleg der Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst*) in Cologne is yet another organ coordinating the activities of *Ostforschung* centres. This College was founded in 1957 on Schröder's initiative when he was Minister for Internal Affairs and remains the responsibility of that ministry. It was not intended as a centre for scientific studies but to engage in propaganda training to be used in the struggle against Communism. In 1958 Schröder himself stressed that the College was intended as "an ideological tool in the struggle against Communism." [8])

The College spares no efforts to fulfill this task to the best of its ability. It organizes scores of anti-Communist courses annually, for lawyers, officers, school teachers, clergymen, journalists, etc. These last several days and influence the processes of social education and the community within which those people live and work. Separate courses are organized for each professional group, with a programme specially adapted for their needs. Participation in those courses, which are organized in groups of 50 each and entail absence from normal work, is financed by the Colleges. Roughly, about 1,500 specially selected people are given political instruction at such courses annually. The College central authorities at one time had the benefit of such experienced *Ostforschung* members as

[8]) Quotation from J. Sobczak, *Przegląd Zachodni* (Western Review), No. 2/1959, page 455.

Professor H. J. Lieber from the *Osteuropa-Institut* in Berlin, who is head of the College; Professor Bocheński, a Dominican monk of Polish origin from Freiburg; Professor H. Koch, director of the *Osteuropa-Institut;* Professor W. Markert from Teibingen; Professor W. Philip from Berlin; Professor G. Rauch from Marburg; Professor G. Stökl from Cologne; Professor K. C. Thalheim from Berlin and others.

Lecturers at those courses are professors invited from among a select group or specialists from both at home and abroad. The concern shown in choosing the most eminent lecturers is due to the desire to maintain a high intellectual level which would correspond to that of the audience which is recruited from among intellectuals. The College also fulfills its role of coordination by organizing discussion meetings, usually held on the premises of the Office for Foreign Affairs. We quote Bulletin No. 50 of March 19th, 1963, published by the Federal Government Press and Information Office, for an example of such sessions (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*). It published information on a session held in the Foreign Affairs Office to discuss a report by Professor K. C. Thalheim of Berlin on "Changes in the System of Planning and Economic Administration in the Soviet Union" — and the causes behind them, and a report by Professor B. Meissner from Cologne on "Changes in the System of Power in the Soviet Union." The introductory speech in the discussion was delivered by Professor Karpf, director of the NATO Department in the Foreign Affairs Office, and by Secretary of State Hötzl, from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Senior officials from the Foreign Affairs Office and *Ostforschung* scholars took part in the discussion.

In addition, there is the Federal Group for Spreading

Information on Eastern Affairs (*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft für deutsche Ostkunde im Unterricht*), which organizes meetings in various localities to discuss the problem of providing information on the East in schools. This Group was formed in 1953 and has engaged in energetic activity ever since. The following meetings, comprising reports and discussions, each lasting several days, were held in 1963:

1. At Stuttgart-Degerloch, where the following subjects were discussed: Economic significance of the Odra-Nysa territory to Germany and Poland respectively; the legal situation of the German Eastern territories; the possibility of partnership in East-Central Europe; Europe — the mother of nations; the problem of Berlin as part of the German question; co-existence in the Soviet version; will the local and expelled Germans form a new nation; the actual situation of German settlers in South-East Europe.[9])
2. In Bonn Dr R. Barzel, a prominent CDU/CSU leader was present. The report on "Knowledge about the East as One of the Main Tasks of Education" was delivered by Professor E. Lemberg.
3. At Bad Godesberg reports were delivered by former President of the Resettlers' Union, H. Krüger, Dr K. Rabl, Professor A. Timmer, Dr Foetscher, member of the "Indivisible Germany" Board of Directors, and by Professor Birke. In addition, meetings were also held in Lubeck, Marburg, Tutzing, Buchenbach near Freiburg, Regensburg and Königstein.

At all those meetings *Ostforschung* members took

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[9]) Compare *Informationen*, No. 1/1964, page 90 and subsequent.

part, and the main subject under discussion was the problem of political education in schools.

The list of subjects in Hacker's *Osteuropa-Forschung in der Bundesrepublik*, a work already quoted, gives an outline of the *Ostforschung* organization. The list goes as follows:

A. Academic associations and coordinating bodies
   I. Societies
   II. Coordinating bodies
      a) on a supra-regional scale
      b) on a regional scale
B. Eastern studies in higher schools
   I.
      a) Higher school institutes and seminars concerned with Eastern studies exclusively
      b) University Institutes and seminars in which Eastern studies form part of the programme
      c) Institutes connected with universities in which Eastern studies are only partially conducted.
   II.
      a) University Chairs and assistant professorships
      b) Lectures on Eastern study in higher schools
C. Studies on Eastern Europe not conducted in higher schools
   I. Institutes engaged exclusively in Eastern Studies
   II. Institutes only partially engaged in Eastern studies
D. Studies of Eastern Europe from the point of view of the *Heimatrecht* (right to the fatherland) and the problem of expellees
E. Political studies Institutes, independent of higher schools
   I. Institutes for political education exclusively engaged in Eastern problems

II. Institutes where political education concerns controversial problems between East and West

F. Sources utilized by Eastern studies

I. Libraries

II. Catalogues

III. Publications on Eastern Europe

Altogether, Hacker mentions over 150 centres interested in Eastern problems, not counting lectures mentioned in point B II b). It should be added that this was the state of affairs in 1960 and that since then the number of centres increased and on June 30th, 1968 numbered about 200.

CENTRES OF STUDY OUTSIDE OF UNIVERSITIES

The main role assigned to the centres outside of the universities is to collect information on political, cultural, scientific, economic and even religious life in countries belonging to the Socialist camp and subsequently to prepare information to meet the continually growing demands of West German revisionism. Studies on the history, laws, ethnography, geography, economy, etc. of those nations are not intended solely for the use of political and government party leaders interested in Eastern policy. Results of those studies are frequently published for the use of broad sections of the German public at home and to be used abroad.

Munich has the largest number of extra-university centres.

1. **The Eastern Europe Institute** (*Osteuropa- Institut*) in Munich was formed at the beginning of 1952 as heir of institutes of the same name, which until 1945 had existed in Królewiec and Wrocław as public law foundations. Its first director was Professor H. Koch, prominent specialist on Eastern affairs in the Third

Reich, where he had also been director of the *Osteuropa- Institut,* first in Królewiec (1934—1937) and later in Wrocław (until 1940) and lastly in Vienna.

Professor H. Koch, who died in 1959, had also been Prorector at the Munich Higher School of Political Sciences. He came from Lvov and began his career in the Intelligence Service during the First World War as an officer in the Austrian *Abwehr.*

After the German and Austrian defeat he joined Petlura's force in the rank of captain, fought against the October Revolution and was taken prisoner. He was released in 1921. Following the Austrian *Anschluss,* he was appointed director of the *Osteuropa-Institut* in Vienna. During the Second World War he was again officer in the Intelligence Service and together with Oberländer helped to organize a Ukrainian subversive battalion in Lvov which later became notorius as the *Nachtigall* Battalion and counted among its victims many scholars and writers, as well as thousands of men, women and children. A theologian by education, he used this fact to escape responsibility for his wartime activities in the first years after the Second World War. For a period of seven years he was Lutheran Pastor in Steiermark. Later he abandoned "the service of God" in order to return to his true calling, namely the struggle against Communism. He occupies a very high position among specialists on anti-Communist affairs and served as scientific advisor and interpreter to the delegation which went to Moscow with Adenauer in 1955. He was also spokesman of the Wisła-Warta *Landsmannschaft.* Professor Hans Raupach is the present head of this Institute.

The principle aim of this Institute is the study of the Soviet Union, first and foremost (the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian Republics), as well as Po-

land and Czechoslovakia. It has a library of sixty thousand volumes and a rich collection of maps, atlases, photoplates, microfilms, etc. all related to the Socialist countries. It subscribes to 350 daily newspapers and periodicals.

The Institute publishes the results of some of its studies, amongst others in the following series:

Institute Publications (*Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institut — München*);

Annals of East European History (*Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*);

Economic Publications (*Volkswirtschaftliche Schriften*);

Publications by the East European Affairs Working Group (*Schriften des Arbeitskreises für Ostfragen*).

These publications show a tendency to uphold the old familiar *Ostforschung* doctrine that the best solution for Slavonic countries would be to include them within the orbit of Western civilization, in which German should play the leading role.

The Institute's most important task is to prepare opinions and information for the use of the ministries of Defence, Internal and Foreign Affairs, the great industrialists, and joint-stock companies, interested in the political and economic situation existing in the East European countries.

2. **The South-Eastern Affairs Institute** in Munich (*Südost-Institut*), reopened activities in 1951, also as a public law foundation. At first it was directed by the Ministry Director R. K. A. Fischer, but in 1955 he was replaced by the well-known Nazi, Professor F. Valjavec, who continued in this position until his death in 1960. He was also in charge of the Chair of Political Sciences at Munich University which had been spe-

cially formed for him. Dr M. Bernath succeeded to the position Valjavec had held. The name of this Institute proves its interest in South-East European countries (Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria and Slovenia). The Institute cooperates with the Resettlers' Union, with various *Landsmannschaften* and with reactionary émigré organizations, in particular with the anti-Communist Western Academy (*Abendländische Akademie*), also founded in 1951. This last statement concerns its sector of propaganda in particular, which has an important role in the Institute's programme. During so-called "Higher School Weeks" which are devoted to South-East European problems, representatives of the *Landsmanschaften* and of various émigré organizations make speeches together with the Institute's academic workers. Together with Seminars there are Weeks intended to instill feelings of hatred towards Socialism among the academic youth, toward the South-East European countries in particular.

3. **The Eastern Law Institute** in Munich (*Institut für Ostrecht*) was created in 1957 and continues the work of the former institutes in Wrocław and Królewiec. In addition to amassing and translating various legal codes and compilations, published in the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries, the Institute engages in studies of the legal systems existing in the Socialist countries. At specially prepared seminars it shares the results of its studies with practicing lawyers. At present, the Institute also cooperates with foreign scholars. It organizes lectures on legal relations between East and West, both in higher schools in the GFR and abroad; it encourages academic work on legal conditions existing in various domains of life in the Socialist countries. In addition, the Institute also organizes

courses for lawyers (both trainee lawyers and students of law) and submits information and opinions for use by the State and economic authorities.

Weekly seminars for judges, public prosecutors and lawyers, organized in conjunction with Land Ministries and with the Bonn Information Office to discuss ideological basis of the legal systems in the Socialist countries, deserve special emphasis.

4. **The Collegium Carolinum** in Munich. This Collegium is a centre of political studies directed mainly against Czechoslovakia. Following the Nazi defeat, German scholars from the German University in Prague fled to Munich, where they immediately began to organize an academic centre of their own. They began by using the Church Centre of Assistance to Sudeten Germans, organized in 1945. Contacts with this organization resulted in the first official meetings of scholars who had either escaped or had been expelled from Czechoslovakia, which was held in 1947. With the help of *Adalbert-Stifter-Verein* [10]) and of the Sudeten Germans' *Landsmannschaft,* by 1950 they succeeded in forming the "Historical Commission for the Sudeten Lands."

Dr K. Oberdorfer, appointed as the head of this commission, was a former co-organizer of the German fascist movement in Czechoslovakia, one of Henlein's

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[10]) *Adalbert-Stifter-Verein* was formed in 1947, with the purpose of "gathering together all German creative forces in Bohemia and Moravia and continuing the scientific and artistic traditions of Sudeten Germans within the framework of All-German and European culture, and giving support to artists from the Sudetenland, by means of creating scholarships etc." — *Mitteilungsblatt des Adalbert-Stifter-Vereins* No. 1/50.

close collaborators, member of the NSDAP and subsequently of the Waffen-SS. He worked on Himmler's staff in the Department for Cultural and Political Affairs. In 1954 the Historical Commission was granted a charter and registered in Heidelberg. It engaged in academic studies and undertook efforts to organize a special scientific centre devoted to saving the historical heritage of the Sudeten Germans and to preparing moral and political grounds for the return of Germans to their former places of domicile in the Sudetes. In this manner the concept of founding the *Collegium Carolinum* was born. Due to the fact K. Oberdorfer and his political friends, as for instance D. O. Schreiber, who died in 1954, R. Weizsäcker, J. Hanika and E. Lemberg, are also members of the *Adalbert-Stifter-Verein* Academic Department's Council, both those institutions' combined efforts together with the help of the then Minister for Resettlers' Affairs, I. Oberländer, succeeded in creating the Collegium's Organizing Committee in 1954.

With support from both the Federal government and the Bavarian government, this Committee, succeeded in organizing the Collegium, which was finally constituted on October 25th, 1956, as a registered company.

The Company's Presidium specified the Collegium's duties as follows: "The Collegium will engage in scientific studies of Czech territories and their problems; it will analyze and study the peoples living in this area with its prevailing historical, political, social, legal and economic conditions. It will also observe current events in those territories and among the population expelled from those areas." [11]) Thus the *Collegium Carolinum* is continuing the work of Sudeten German scien-

[11]) "*Bericht des Vorstanders über Aufgaben und Tätigkeit*

tific organizations, of the German Science and Art Society, later transformed into a Science Academy (during the Nazi period — author's note) of the Sudeten Institute for studying the Country and its Population and of the History Association in Prague and Brno. It also continues the traditions of the German Karol University in Prague. The Collegium's political aims were specified as follows: "to oppose the clever and tendentious Czech publications by a study of facts and fully confirmed experiences." [12])

5. **The Knowledge and Policy Working Group** (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wissenschaft und Politik*). Founded on August 23rd, 1962, it has the following aims:

a) to organize seminars and meetings between scholars and prominent political personalities
b) organize scientific research work
c) make available materials obtained to other people, for the purpose of scientific studies
d) publish the results of its studies

Political and economic problems, as well as problems of sociology and modern technology, form part of this organization's interests. Dr Freiherr R. von Weizsäcker is chairman of its Presidium and Dr H. Kruse is an active member of the Board of Directors.[13])

6. **Institute for Studies of the Soviet Union** (*Institut zur Erforschung der UdSRR*). Most of this Institute's members are reactionary émigré politicians, many of

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des Collegium Carolinum" in: *Unser Sudetenland — Beilage der Sudetendeutschen Heimat-Blätter,* Berlin No. 2/1960.

[12]) J. Hacker, op. cit., page 606, and quotation from source given in Annex 5.

[13]) *Handbuch der Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften,* op. cit., page 661.

whom live in Munich. According to a television report about "Eastern Europe in Munich," broadcast on November 4th, 1961, Munich is the largest émigré press centre in the world. There are 260 journalists working for the 22 émigré newspapers published there by 10 print shops. In addition, Munich has two broadcasting stations, financed by the United States: Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (the latter broadcasts in seventeen languages to the Soviet Union). The Institute formed in this centre of émigré propaganda is headed by Dr W. Schultz. The purpose of the Institute is to "provide objective scientific information on the internal and international situation of the USRR." [14])

A sample of the kind of "objective" information meant was supplied at a symposium devoted to agricultural problems in the USSR, held in Munich from February 20th to 22nd, 1964. Professor R. D. Laird of the Kansas State University and N. K. Novak-Decker, head of the Institute's Research Department, presided over the session. The principle reports were delivered by Professor Laird "Russia at the Crossroads," and by S. Kabysch "The Permanent Crisis in Soviet Agriculture." Supplementary reports were delivered by A. Nove of Glasgow, H. Wroński from Paris and W. Klatt from London, as well as by German scholars from Munich. The Symposium decided that the Institute was to be the sole organizer of sessions of the International Commission for the Study of Soviet Agriculture. Professor O. Schiller of Heidelberg University was elected chairman of the Commission. In addition, L. O. Richter from the State Department Office of Research and Analysis on the Sino-Soviet Bloc, Professor H. Raupach, director of the *Osteuropa- Institut*

[14]) *Informationen*, No. 2/3, 1962, pages 60 and 61.

in Munich and fifty-five other persons took part in this Symposium. At present, the Institute employs 80 people on a permanent basis and cooperates with 300 others on a different basis. Most of the people are émigrés.[15])

The Institute is financed by American sources.[16])

6. As concerns other institutes the **Göttingen Working Group** (*Göttinger Arbeitskreis*) deserves separate mention. Not only is this Group the first of the many post-war centres on "Eastern studies," but many experts consider it the foremost academic centre of West German revisionism, directed first and foremost against Poland and then Czechoslovakia.

7. **The J. G. Herder Studies Council** (*Johann-Godfried Herder-Forschungsrat*) in Marburg. The Council began operating in 1950 and that same year organized the *Johann-Godfried Herder-Instiut* as an extension of the Council's work. Assessing the significance of both those centres and their role in psychological war, their excellent organization and political aggressiveness, the composition of their staff and their extensive contacts with centres of political power in the GFR, as well as their extensive contacts abroad — Marburg must be considered one of the most important links in the system of ideological struggle against Communism organized in the GFR.

Herder's name, adopted by both those organizations, at best can only serve as a fronting, to mask their real purpose, given that J. G. Herder (1744—1803) was

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[15]) Ch. Voigt, *Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte*, Berlin, No. 1/1959, pages 52 and 53.

[16]) *Informationen*, No. 3/1964, page 73.

a great humanist who "condemned all forms of absolutism and national oppression" in his essays on the history of philosophy and theology.[17])

The Herder Council is an independent organization. Professor H. Aubin, now deceased, was elected its first chairman. In his work "Remarks on the History and Economic Reasons of German Colonization in the East" published in 1928, the Professor endeavoured to justify German claims to Polish and Czechoslovak territories. As Professor at Wrocław University in the period of the Third Reich he was one of many scholars, enthusiasts of the National Socialist regime who helped that system by their scientific work and organizational ability. His political statements at the time, and his cooperation with the SS and Wehrmacht as head of the *Nord- und Ostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft,* classify him as a confirmed fascist.[18]) In 1964 he was succeeded in the Herder Council by Professor E. Lemberg, author of numerous books and an avid anti-Communist and revanchist (in 1945 he returned to West Germany from Prague where he was professor at the German Karol University).

People like Aubin and Lemberg still hold key influence in all *Ostforschung* organizations and institutes. It is to them that *Ostforschung* is indebted for its postwar development. In view of their common past and their political convictions, common to many people holding office in the GFR, they had no difficulty in obtaining financial support for "Eastern studies" from government sources. Professor T. Oberländer and W.

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[17]) Compare *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna* (The Great Encyclopaedia), Warsaw 1964, volume 4, page 630.

[18]) Compare Gentzen and Wolfgramm, op. cit., page 39.

Jaksch had great success as liaison men between *Ostforschung* centres and the GFR government. Both their names are to be seen in almost every Eastern study organization, and that of Professor T. Oberländer among the authorities of many institutes. They can also be found in the Herder Council.

8. **The Federal Institute for Scientific Eastern and International Studies** in Cologne (*Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien*).

The actual name of this Institute does not say much about the object of its work. Its former name specified its aims with greater clarity: *Bundesinstitut zur Erforschung des Marxismus-Leninismus* (*Institut für Sovietologie*) — Federal Institute of Research on Marxism-Leninism. The Institute was founded on March 21st, 1961 by Federal Minister for International Affairs, Dr G. Schröder. From the communiqué issued by that Ministry, announcing the creation of this Institute, it can be avered that: [19]) "The Institute has the following duties: specification and analysis of scientific findings bearing on the controversies between East and West; a systematic and scientific study of Marxist-Leninist teachings, as for instance dialectical, and historical materialism, either by means of its own research work or by commissioning such work elsewhere; study of the world Communist movement within the Eastern bloc and elsewhere, as well as study of its socio-political development, particularly problems in the developing African and Asiatic countries; utilization and publication of the results obtained; submitting opinions to the Federal authorities on subjects

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[19]) Compare *Informationen*, No. 1/1961.

within the scope of the Institute's interests; cooperation with all scientific institutions, both at home and abroad, which serve similar ends." [20])

Professor B. Meissner, whom we have had occasion to mention before, was appointed chairman of the board of directors. It should be added that Minister Schröder's directive calling this Institute into being was issued in implementation of a Federal government decree of August 6th, 1959. The Institute was renamed (as mentioned aforehead) and located in its new headquarters on May 5th, 1966. Creation of this Institute expressed the changes occurring in the GFR government's assessment of the political situation in the world. The growing influence of the world Socialist system and of the international Communist movement did not escape notice of the GFR ruling group. Considering the GFR to be the strongest exponent of the anti-Communist struggle in Europe and the second strongest one in the world, after the USA, they decided to oppose this influence with every available means. With the intention of obtaining a body entirely subservient to them and unwilling to risk possible opposition on the part of academic circles, the GFR government organized this Institute and made it officially subject to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Opposition in academic circles usually meant throwing doubt on whether "Sovietology" could be recognized as an authentic science, *sensu stricto*. It was because of those doubts, in fact, that the Instute's name was changed. But, of course, this change of name did not entail any change of programme. On the contrary, its duties were

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[20]) *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung* No. 7 of April 15th, 1961 page 674. Compare *Informationen*, No. 1/1961, page 66 and following.

emphasized with even greater strength. The communiqué concerning the changes runs as follows:

"A divided Germany lies in the frontline of confrontation in the world-wide struggle against Communism. It is, therefore, imperative for reasons of self-defence to create the necessary conditions for the population in the free part of Germany which would enable them to see through the pseudo-truths of Communism. Our concern over the political education of the population as a defence against radical, left-wing totalitarianism must be based on a study of its (Communism's — author's note) scientific basis." [21])

9. **Working Group for East European Studies** in Tubingen (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropa-Forschung*).

10. **East European Study Service** in Düsseldorf (*Forschungsdienst Osteuropa*)

This Institute is engaged in studies of state and administrative law, nationality affairs and the organizational structure of state and party organs in the Soviet Union, with particular emphasis on the Baltic countries, the Ukraine, Caucasus and Turkestan. Other Socialist countries in Europe also form part of those studies.

Professor Dr G. von Mende is head of this Study Service.

11. **The East-German Academy** in Lüneburg (*Ostdeutsche Akademie*)

This Academy was formed in 1951. At first it was given the name of the *Nordostdeutsche Akademie*. This

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[21]) Compare *Informationen*, No. 2/1966.

is not a higher school of an academic type, rather an institute engaged in the following work: scientific studies, training (courses) and publications. All three directions carry one and the same purpose, namely to fight Communism in East-Central Europe. *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung,* No. 220 of 1957, has this to say on the subject:

"Taking into consideration the development of neighbourly relations with the nations of East-Central Europe, the Academy is intended to open up horizons in the East for all propaganda efforts. At the same time, it aims at transmitting information which would strengthen Germany's ability to retain its contacts with the Eastern nations which are temporarily under Communist domination, but which should not always be identified with Communism." Army officers, Bundeswehr officer-cadets, students, school teachers and some senior secondary school youth members attend the Academy's courses. About two thousand people attend these courses annually.

12. **The Centre of All-European Studies,** a registered company in Vlotho Weser (*Gesamteuropäisches Studienwerk e. v.*)

This Centre was formed in 1956, mainly for training and propaganda purposes. Actual studies are only a side-line of the occupations conducted in this Centre.

Courses organized by this Centre are attended almost exclusively by people whose professional duties entail a political influence over the youth. They include trade union leaders active among the youth, heads of personnel departments, school teachers, students, etc. Special courses are organized for lecturers in work establishments.

In addition to the centres mentioned above, ten other institutes unattached to universities exist, but they need not be mentioned here.

CHURCH CENTRES

The fact that the Christian Democratic Party plays an important role in the GFR and that it enjoys strong support among the church hierarchy, whether Protestant or Catholic, is not without influence on the fact that *Ostforschung* enjoys significant support, both ideological, political and organizational, on the part of church authorities.[22])

Church authorities have their own *Ostforschung* centres. In this the Catholic Church in Germany make use of the Central Committee of German Catholics (*Zentralkomitee deutscher Katholiken — ZKdK*). This Committee was formed in 1952 to unite together all the Catholic societies in West Germany. That same year efforts were made to form an association of all church institutions engaged in "Eastern studies." These efforts resulted in the formation of two so-called working groups (*Arbeitskreis*), *Kirche und Heimat* and *Einheit der Christen in Ost und West.* Both groups form part of the ZKdK organization. The first one, *Kirche und Heimat* (Church and Fatherland) is headed by Prelate Dr G. Braun from Würzburg, Dr H. Czaja from Stuttgart, E. Kutscher from Stade and E. Leukert from Munich. Its duties are specified as follows.

"The point is for *Ostforschung* to exert influence

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[22]) Information taken from **Informationen** was used in this chapter in particular from the editorial article "*Zu der politisch-klerikalen Ostforschung und deren Repräsentanten*" — No. 4/1962, and from the work by E. Męclewski "*Seelsorge oder Politik,*" *Informationen,* No. 3/1967.

on the training of young politicians and diplomats in Eastern problems, to uphold, awaken and spread awareness of what Bolshevism really represents, to study the right to the Fatherland, to have cautious meetings with representatives of émigré circles and of conquered nations, to have care over young people and students, to see that people help each other materially, to investigate possibilities of a joint organization and of its practical introduction." [23]) Prelate Professor A. Kindermann supplemented this statement with a demand "to look toward the East" for "responsibility for the persecuted Church," "creation of an Eastern Institute" which would provide a picture of the "connections existing between Bolshevism and the expulsion and persecution of the Church."

"People expelled from their native parts are pioneers of the rights of man and in particular of religious freedom for themselves and for those nations which are forced to live under Communism. They begin with the assumption that expulsion, Bolshevism and church persecution, all form part of the same line." [24])

The second group, *Einheit der Christen in Ost und West,* is headed by Father A. Mitnacht. He is the head of the official Apostolic See organization in the GFR, called the *Catholica Unio,* and at the same time the editor of *Der Christliche Osten,* a periodical which is the organ of *Catholica Unio* in Monaster.

The following Catholic institutes are associated in the above mentioned organizations:

The Königstein Establishment (*Königsteiner Anstalten*);

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[23]) "*Protokoll Arbeitstagung Saarbrücken,*" compare *Informationen,* No. 4/1962 page 7 and following.

[24]) Ibid.

Collegium Albertus Magnus (*Albertus Magnus-Kolleg*);

The Meeting-House (*Haus der Begegnung*);

Assistance to Priests in the East, German Branch (*Ostpristerhilfe, deutscher Zweig*);

Catholic Eastern Academy (*Katholische Ostakademie*);

The Chinese Institute (*Institutum Sinicum*);

Catholic Centre of Social Studies (*Katholisches Zentrum für Sozialforschung*);

The Institute of East-Central European History and Culture in Königstein, Sudeten German Branch (*Königsteiner Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas, Sudetendeutsche Abteilung*);

The Catholic Centre for Baltic Countries (*Arbeitsstelle für das Katholische Balticum*);

Institute for Church and Cultural Affairs in the Sudetenland (*Institut für Kirchliche und Kulturelle Fragen des Sudetenlandes*);

Institute of East German Church and Cultural History (*Institut für Ostdeutsche Kirche- und Kulturgeschichte*).

All those centres are located in Königstein/Taunus. The *Königsteiner Anstalten* establishment coordinates the work of the other institutes. It is headed by Prelate Professor A. Kindermann, a leading clergyman engaged in *Ostforschung* work.

The Protestant Church in the GFR has five similar centres:

Church Committee for Assistance to Expellees from the East (*Kirchlicher Hilfsausschuss für die Ostvertriebenen*);

The Eastern Church Institute of the German Protestant Church (*Ostkircheninstitut der EKD*);

Union for East German Church History (*Verein für Ostdeutsche Kirchengeschichte*);
Church Service — East (*Kirchendienst-Ost KDO*);
Convent of the Dispersed Eastern Protestant Churches (*Konvent der Zerstreuten Ewangelischen Ostkirchen*).

This short and incomplete review of Catholic and Protestant Church institutions engaged in Eastern studies by no means exhausts the part played by the clergy and by lay clerics in preparing theoretical pretexts for revenge against Communism.

According to van der Straaten (*Ostpriesterhilfe*) various religious orders are also engaged in Eastern studies. Thus, Redemptionist Fathers study the Ukrainian, the Capucin Monks the Soviet Baltic Republics, and the Augustinian Fathers run their own *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der deutscher Augustiner zum Studium der Ostkirchen* in Würzburg. In addition, various "émigré churches" in the GFR also engage in studies of their native countries.

Protestant academies devote considerable attention to anti-Communist problems. Church *Ostforschung* organizations have disposal of the clerical and Christian Democratic press. For instance, the newspaper *Christ und Welt* willingly lends its pages to such Eastern experts as K. Mehnert and G. Rhode. Its chief editor is G. Wirsing, a former *Hauptsturmfürer* in the SS. The other extra-university centres, with special interests as to subject and geography, and differing somewhat from the institutions described above, are as follows:

1. Council for the Study of German Reunification Problems, (*Forschungsbeirat für Fragen der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands*).

This Council was created by decree of the Minister

for All-German Affairs, on March 24th, 1952, as an independent organ of the Federal government, at the disposal of the said Minister. The Council's purpose is to prepare essential decisions to be put in operation on so-called X-Day, the day on which the GFR is to incorporate the German Democratic Republic. The question may be posed here whether mention of this government organ is justified in this context, but these doubts will vanish in the course of our argumentation. By abstract reasoning the GFR government came to the conclusion that should the GDR become united with the GFR, it would not be possible to abolish the legal system in the GDR, its political, social and economic order, all at once. It, therefore, becomes necessary to prepare a plan which would allow for the gradual implementation, free from violent shock, of a programme for adapting the GDR (after its annexation) to life in capitalist conditions, such as exist in the GFR. How X-Day should be achieved is the government's own problem. The concern of the Studies Council is to prepare an outline racapitulating the political and socio-economic system in the GDR.

It was assumed that the Council, which has several dozen members (about 26 in 1952 and about 70 in 1965), would be divided into several sections. Each of them would have the primary duty of preparing an inventory of the conditions existing in that sector of life in the GDR which has been made its particular responsibility, and on this basis subsequently prepare a programme for the de-Communization of the GDR. In his speech inaugurating the Council's work, delivered in 1952, J. Kayser, the Minister for All-German Affairs at the time, stated:

"It is not excluded that X-Day will come much sooner than sceptically minded people expect. It is our

duty to prepare for it with all possible speed... What is principally at stake is to implant concepts of law and freedom, in accordance with the spirit of Western culture, in the Soviet Zone."

Te protocol of this session contains the following directives:

"Our whole work must be organized in such a manner that in the event of reunfication, no chaos develops... As concerns necessary instructions, an appropriate programme should be prepared to be ready when needed." Without delving further into the matter, as to what is happening at present to the "kept in readiness" programmes, it should be remembered that the Council remains in existence and keeps in operation. The situation changes and the attitudes of the Council change correspondingly, but its work never ceases.

The Council is now in possession of detailed information on various domains of life in the GDR; maps are brought up to date, with charts and diagrams, lists and files. Every public personality, almost every party and state functionary, has his own personal file in the *Archiv für gesamtdeutsche Fragen*, formed in 1953.

In the course of years the feelings of exuberance entertained by Minister Kayser and the Council died down. This was followed by fear lest eventual "reunification" should revolutionize conditions in the GFR in conformance with political trends in the GDR. Due to this, the Council's tasks have changed. Its present purpose is to safeguard the system which exists in the GFR against any threat from the revolutionary "Trojan Horse," which the GDR might become were its annexation successfully engineered. The *Kuratorium Unteilbares Deutschland* (Indivisible Germany), created in 1954, was intended to create a mass movement

in the GFR, in favour of the speediest possible annexation of the German Socialist State. The fiasco those plans suffered was bound to produce a nucleus of mental ferment. Thus, for instance, in 1967 W. Schütz, chairman of the aforenamed *Kuratorium* proposed that "the GFR and GDR should be treated as parts of Germany and as a single whole." According to the West Germany press, he also proposed that the GFR and GDR should open mutual relations... and quite plainly questioned "the right of the Federal government to represent the whole of Germany." [25])

Even before this, in 1965 in fact, sober opinions about the Council's activities existed. On June 16th, 1965 *Stuttgarter Zeitung* wrote as follows on the subject:

"There is something unrealistic in the fact that in the conference room of the Federal parliament, intelligent serious-minded doctors, professors and men prominent in their professions, enter into detailed discussions on what social and economic directives should be issued when both parts of Germany are reunited again, as if this event was about to occur on the morrow." A. P. Beyersdorf of *Neue Presse*, declared on June 19th, 1965 that "the whole business is of a purely academic nature."

Despite such opinions and despite the fact that hopes of the fulfillment of annexation plans should have vanished long ago, *Forschungsbeirat* continues its work and has gathered together a considerable number of professors and doctors from various academic fields in its ranks. The Deputy Premier and many senior representatives of Federal ministries take part in its work and sessions.

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[25]) R. Drecki, "Concerning the Schütz Memorandum," *Życie Warszawy* of December 6th, 1967.

OSTFORSCHUNG IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

Ostforschung in higher schools includes not only such academic subjects as certain branches of law, economics and sociology but in the first place history and Slavonic philology. A substantial number of experts on Eastern affairs are historians and specialists in Slavonic philology. Many among them play a leading role in propagating revanchist ideology in higher schools and *Ostforschung* institutes. In Poland, as in other countries Philology Chairs are occupied as a rule at least by sympathizers, if not friends, of the countries whose culture and language they teach. Not so in the GFR. Many West German experts in Slavonic philology make no efforts to induce feelings of sympathy and friendship among their students towards Slavonic countries and nations. On the contrary, they instill contempt and hatred toward the "uncultured, Communist East."

In view of the great influence and presure exerted by *Ostforschung* organizations on teaching and education in higher schools, trends to turn "Eastern studies" into an independent branch of academic study, common to many branches and departments of learning, become perfectly understandable. A clear example in kind is the *Ostforschung* institutes in West Berlin University and in particular the *Osteuropa- Institut,* which may be termed as a sort of "state within the state" at Berlin University. There, its "political sciences" dominate all other University departments, medicine included. Maximum saturation of academic programmes with political essence has become quite an obsession among exponents of *Ostforschung* policies and teaching, particularly in recent years. This obsession is mainly due to fear lest academic youth succumb to

Communist influence. Those fears are partly justified by the increasingly radical political attitude among increasing numbers of young people, who do not hesitate to voice public protest against GFR government policy. They even demonstrate against the war in Vietnam and demand recognition of the GDR and the Odra-Nysa frontier.

In addition to special scientific-didactic centres in higher schools engaged in anti-Communist action, vast university institutes are built, at a cost of many millions with the sole purpose of continuing the struggle against Communism. New universities are also being planned and organized, with the purpose of preparing students for the ideological struggle against Communism.

Huge outlay is not stinted by the State to instigate initiatives among the youth in organizing centres for combatting Communist ideology. So-called *Collegia Politica* [26]) with headquarters in Erlangen may serve as an example.

The first origins of these *Collegia* reach back to 1957. The Erlangen history Professor H. Lades and lawyer, H. W. von Aufsess, founded this organization.

With the help of prominent financial assistance from the Ministries of Internal and All-German Affairs, these *Collegia* were formed all over the GFR at the beginning of the sixties. They already exist at the Universities of Würzburg, Berlin, Munich, Bonn, Heidelberg, Monaster, Marburg, Hanover, Brunswick, Hamburg,

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[26]) Compare H. Schlesinger on "*Collegia Politica*" — *Zentrum Politischer Bildungsarbeit der Bonner Ostpolitik an westdeutschen Hochschulen,*" *Informationen,* No. 2/1966.

Tibingen, Essen and Nüremberg. The following may be found in the *Collegia* programmes:

"In Central Germany (that is, in the GDR — authors' comment) students must devote a great deal of time to social studies. In the *Collegia Politica*, on the other hand, by their own free will and because of their sense of responsibility for the whole of our community, students foster an understanding of freedom and a sense of German national unity... Hence, a knowledge of the two systems, competing against each other inside Germany and throughout the world, is essential." [27])

The *Collegia* carry out their programme of political training at weekly debates, organized in groups of about twenty. Specially selected lecturers to conduct those debates are provided, amongst others, by the *Gesamteuropäisches Studienwerk* centre in Vlotho/ Weser. The purpose of those meetings is to prepare students for independent lectures at universities, secondary schools, military barracks, among police units and in the countryside. In the course of only a few years, about five thousand students have been given such propaganda training.

Headquarters of those training seminars, known as *Arbeitskreis der Collegia Politica an Deutschen Hochschulen*, are in Erlangen. The Collegium for Modern History Studies — Institute for Social Affairs and Education in Central Germany (the GDR — author's note), (*Studienkolleg für zeitgeschichtliche Fragen — Institut für Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft in Mitteldeutschland*), organized in 1965 and healded by Professor H. Lades,

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[27]) H. Sonder, "*Was können wir für Deutschland tun? Collegia Politica — Ein Gegengewicht zu linksgerichteten Hochschulgruppen,*" *Die Welt* of April 15th, 1966, page 7.

is also located in Erlangen. This Institute issues a monthly publication called "Headlines and Slogans in Soviet Zone Periodicals" (*Titel und Stichworte aus sowietzonalen Zeitschriften*). This monthly publication is forwarded to libraries, editorial offices of various periodicals, scientific and socio-political institutions and even to foreign embassies. The Institute also publishes a series called *Analysen und Berichte*, commissions various scientific works and grants scholarships, which fact demonstrates the generosity displayed towards it by the State authorities. In addition to central publications published in Erlangen, there exists yet another and even better known periodical for students, namely the quarterly *Politica*, published by the *Collegium Politicum* in Monaster. It should be added that this *Collegium* was founded by Dr B. Barzel, a leader of the CDU/CSU.

The purpose of the *Collegia* is to propagate Federal government policies among students and oppose all left-wing ideas in higher schools.

The *Collegia* also consider it their duty to study and prepare methods for the dispersal of left-wing events organized by "disloyal" academic youth and to put those methods into practical use. In simple language, this means that "action by gangs of ruffians" also forms part of *Collegia* programmes.

Assessing the political propaganda activities of such institutions as the Catholic organizations in Königstein, the *Gesamteuropäisches Studienwerk* in Vlotho/Weser, the East German Academy in Lüneburg and the *Ostkolleg* in Cologne, as still insufficient for fighting growing political ferment among academic youth, GFR govermment circles created the *Collegia Politica* to "set things in order" in the universities, with their help. Press reports disclosed that it was impossible to keep

"order" in the West German universities, either with the help of *Collegia Politica* gangs of ruffians, or even with the help of police. It is characteristic that Bonn government policy meets with strongest opposition among students in the so-called Free University in West Berlin, despite the fact that the largest and best equipped anti-Communist institutes have been formed in that very University.

What is probably the largest personnel and the greatest material resources destined for "Eastern studies" in universities have been concentrated in West Berlin and Munich. In all the twenty-one universities in West Germany, institutes, seminars and Chairs engaged in Eastern problems, have also been organized. Many of those institutes publish books and periodicals.

Slavonic Philology Chairs are the most numerous among university Chairs engaged in Eastern problems. Such Chairs exist in every university in West Germany, also in many higher schools. Some universities have more than one Chair of Slavonic Philology, for instance in Munich, West Berlin and Hamburg. Most Slavonic philology students choose Russian as the basic language, the rest take Polish, Czech, Serbian-Croatian and Bulgarian.

History Chairs come second.

This subject is found in the thirteen Chairs of East European History at the following universities:

Berlin	— Professor W. Philipp
	— Head of Department
Bonn	— Professor H. Jablonowski
	— Head of Department
Erlangen	— Professor H. von Rimscha
	— Assistant Professor

Göttingen	— Professor R. Wittram
	— Head of Department
Giessen	— Professor H. Ludat
	— Head of Department
Hamburg	— Professor P. Johannsen
	— Head of Department
Kiel	— Professor G. von Rauch
	— Head of Department
Cologne	— Professor G. Stökl
	— Head of Department
Marburg	— Professor P. Scheibert
	— Head of Department
Mainz	— Professor G. Rhode
	— Head of Department
Munich	— Professor H. Stadtmüller
	— Professor H. von Rimscha
	— Assistant Professor
Monaster	— Professor H. Hellmann
	— Head of Department
Tübingen	— not known

The other *Ostforschung* departments are presented by only a few Chairs at certain universities only: Law, in Cologne, Berlin, Göttingen and Hamburg; Geography, in West Berlin and Tübingen. It should be kept in mind, however, that this apparent gap is filled by institutes, seminars and working groups which specialize in law, economics, geography, sociology and other branches of "Eastern studies". They engage in normal didactic work among students in their specific departments. This work takes the form of lectures, exercises, seminars and academies.

Knowing the personal composition of the professor cadres in those institutes, it is not difficult to surmise

the content and direction they give to didactic work in the domain of *Ostforschung*.

Even if these occupations are conducted with all scientific earnestness and apparent objectivity, their final object is to convince West German students of the necessity to struggle against Communism which is the enemy of culture, civilization and freedom.

Chairs engaged in so-called "general studies" also exist in universities engaged in the political indoctrination of academic youth. Other Chairs conduct scientific-didactic work in which elements of "Eastern studies" also exist, namely the Chairs of General History, German Philology, Social Sciences, Law, Economics, etc.

Work carried on by a network of 120 *Ostforschung* centres in the universities (80 institutes and seminars and 40 Chairs) is supplemented by the activities of student political organizations, in particular by such organizations as *Ostpolitischer Deutscher Studentenverband* (prior to 1964 this Union was known as *Verband Heimatvertriebener und Geflüchteter Studenten* — Union of Students Expelled or Escaped from their Homeland).

THE POLITICAL SCIENCES

Whereas *Ostforschung* already enjoys a well consolidated position as a recognized academic discipline, political sciences are still endeavouring to attain such standing in the West German academic world. This is a new branch created in 1949. The occupying authorities of the three Western Powers were its spiritual founders. By recommending the introduction of political sciences in GFR higher schools, the occupying authorities aimed at the political re-education of aca-

demic youth in the spirit of Western democracy. Teaching of political sciences in higher schools was intended to propagate models of the Western political system. But twenty years have elapsed since the Waldleiningen Conference in 1949, at which the three Western Powers first suggested the introduction of political sciences in German universities and higher schools. West German political sciences have freed themselves from the tutelage of the Western Allies and evolved their own aims and concepts. The network of political science centres has been greatly developed. There are more than 50 Chairs at present in universities and higher technical colleges. To this must be added the Chairs of Political Science which exist in nearly every higher school of pedagogy and eleven Chairs in the *Otto Suhr- Institut* in West Berlin, the *Institut für Politische Wissenschaft* at the West Berlin University and the *Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut* in Freiburg.

At present the Otto Suhr Institute (West Berlin University) plays the most significant role among those politology centres not only as concerns the education of students. It is the only college which issues politology diplomas and holds post-graduate and qualifying studies in politology.

There are three thousand students taking politology as their principle subject at present. An approximate idea of the number of politology academicians may by gained from the lists of membership in the German Political Sciences Association (*Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft*) which has 300 members.

Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft publishes its own periodical, the *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* but in fact, West German politologists publish articles in other periodicals also, as for instance *Zeitschrift für Politik, Der Staat, Neue Politische Lite-*

ratur, Atomzeitalter, Der Politologe, Die Neue Gesellschaft, Gesellschaft, Staat und Erziehung, Blätter für Politische Bildung und Erziehung etc.

As concerns politology, Dieter Grosser of the Otto Suhr Institute considers this domain of knowledge and its teaching in higher schools in the GFR as insufficiently developed and declared regretfully:

"The 1961 Rainer Lepsius Memorandum on the situation in sociology and in the political sciences proposed at least three Chairs of Political Science in every university, but unfortunately this has not been attained. Only in Munich, thanks to the five Chairs of the 'Scholl Family' Institute grounds exist for the creation of another centre of political teaching and studies. Due to this, most universities in the Federal Republic are still unable to provide satisfactory education, which, at the very least, should comprise internal policy, international relations and political theory." [28])

Were the question asked, why is it that political studies in the GFR are being developed to such a broad extent, more in fact than in any other capitalist country except the USA, not to mention the Socialist countries, an extent unprecendented in the Weimar Republic or even in the Third Reich, the answer would be plain and simple.

As the political heir of the Third Reich, the GFR has never abandoned its aims of political expansion. As the first step along the road of capitalist expansion it sees the abolishment of the results of the Second World War, revision of existing frontiers and

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[28]) Dieter Grosser: *"Entwicklungstendenzen in der deutschen politischen Wissenschaft" — Annuaire Suisse de science Politique,* Lausanne 1968.

dissolution of the German Socialist State, namely the German Democratic Republic.

No fine sounding words about the peaceful intentions of Bonn policy can be of any avail. Whether it is the "new Eastern policy" makes no difference, both aim at the abolishment of the existing status quo by all possible means. As long as the GFR remains deprived of the military means necessary for the fulfillment of its aggressive aims, it is condemned to use other than military methods, in fact mainly economic and ideological subversion. The object of the political sciences is to contribute to the attainment of this end as rapidly as possible. According to Dieter Grosser, the political sciences comprise the following groups of subjects:

1. Analysis of the system of government in the German Federal Republic. This problem is studied also with the help of the comparative method, in particular the system of government in the GFR is compared with the American system and with the Socialist system in the GDR.
2. Organization of political parties in the GFR.
3. Study of foreign systems of government, among others, in the Socialist countries (with the exception of developing countries).
4. Regional studies, with particular reference to the systems of government in developing countries, including Asiatic countries, and China in particular.
5. Studies in foreign and international policy. In those subjects main emphasis is laid on anti-Communist and anti-Soviet problems.
6. Economics and political sociology.
7. Empirical studies of social attitudes, in particular as concerns the electorate.

8. Modern history, with reference to National Socialism and fascism.
9. Political philosophy and the history of political concepts.
10. Political theory — problems of methodology.
11. Science and politics.
12. Grosser also lists "studies of the political system in the German Democratic Republic" as a separate subject group, and declares that "until recently, analysis of the political system in the GDR had been neglected. Only the Institute of Political Sciences in West Berlin was engaged in studies on the GDR, under the direction of Peter Christian Ludz. The Chair conducted by Professor Ludz at the Otto Suhr Institute in West Berlin has recently undertaken intense studies on the GDR".

Chapter III

OSTFORSCHUNG CONTACTS ABROAD

To a large extent *Ostforschung* owes its post-war re-emergence to the anti-Communist policy of the United States. In their policy of moving away from the Potsdam Agreements towards positions of the cold war, the United States was in need of allies. They naturally found the most experienced and confirmed anti-Communists in the GFR, not only among politicians, but also among scholars. The United States could turn in all confidence to the latter and, in fact, asked them to prepare "scientific arguments" to justify torpedoing decisions of the Agreements at the Foreign Ministers Conferences in Moscow. The United States has since developed its own centres of so-called Sovietology studies, at great cost to themselves, but this does not prevent them displaying great sympathy towards the development of anti-Communist centres of study in the GFR.

The United States is the centre of the ideological struggle against Communism. The second largest centre of militant anti-Communism is in the GFR. Because of this, the American centre maintains constant and lively academic political relations with *Ostforschung* organizations in West Germany, and have contributed financially to them from the very beginning. Despite the permanent nature of cooperation existing between America and West Germany in studies on Communism,

and the resultant conclusions and political concepts arrived at, this cooperation is not without certain contradictions. Differences between the interests of those two capitalist states give rise to differences in their political concepts. Although both countries come up against the same obstacle in the pursuit of their various interests, namely the existence of the world system of Socialist states, which provides a common denominator to the US and GFR anti-Communist policy, outside this obstacle, their concepts tend in different directions.

Counting on the GFR to assist them in the struggle against the Socialist countries in Europe, in the final account the United States hopes to create a *Pax Americana* throughout the world. They would be willing to grant the position of Europe's Governor General in this system to Germany, naturally subject to US control. Germany, on the other hand, increasingly aspires to an independent role in Europe, while for the time being profiting from US alliance and support to oppose Communism in Europe. Having once attained the necessary standing, the GFR would be prepared to oppose even Washington's policy, were it to prove an obstacle to the creation of a "new order of peace," which simply means a *Pax Germanica* in Europe.

From those differences of a general nature, other, more tangible divergences ensue. We shall discuss them further on when reviewing American-German congresses, devoted to *Ostforschung* problems. Temporarily the West German *Ostforschung* organizations refrained from drawing conclusions of an organizational nature, from the existence of those divergences, because the GFR government rulers saw greater benefit in the US alliance than otherwise.

The Federal government naturally shows far greater

flexibility towards the US government than *Ostforschung* members do toward their Sovietologist colleagues in the United States. This is understandable in view of the fact that direct policy and the ensuing responsibilities are one thing, whereas academic discussion on political subjects are quite another matter.

This does not necessarily signify that any serious differences of opinion exist between consecutive governments in the German Federal Republic and their academic experts on "Eastern studies." Apparent differences are merely due to the fact that scholars can expound at greater length on the subject than state leaders could be officially permitted. Hence, it is possible to learn more concerning the political concepts entertained by both countries, from their joint academic congresses, than from official communiqués or statements issued by government representatives.

By and large, however, the West German *Ostforschung* organizations recognize the leadership of the superior American staff in deciding the directions of anti-Communist action. It must be admitted that American *Ostforschung* has a better organization and proceeds in a more coordinated manner.

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies is the coordinating authority for Eastern studies in America. Beginning with 1962, this Association undertook efforts to centralize the activities of every local organization and, as its regional branches, subjected them to its direction. In 1962 such regional organizations as the Mid-west Slavic Conference and the Conference on Agriculture and Peasant Affairs were amalgamated in this Association.

Many scholars engaged in "Eastern studies" at universities and other "Sovietology" centres belong to the Association, thanks to which it can also exert in-

fluence on those centres of "Eastern studies." All told, the Association has gathered together 1,300 members since 1962. Many are émigrés from Eastern Europe. The Association publishes the following periodicals: *Slavic Review* (quarterly), *American Bibliography of Russian and East European Studies* (annual), *Newsletter* (a bi-annual publication containing information on the work of this organization, on conferences, university institutes, etc.), *Directory Member* (provides the Association's membership list with short biographies of its members).

In 1962 Professor D. Harris, Geography lecturer at Chicago University, was elected President of the Association. His deputy is Professor D. Shulmann, specialist on International Relations at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and collaborator of the Harvard University Russian Research Centre. R. T. Fisher is Secretary. In 1965 Professor Z. Brzeziński, head of Columbia University Research Institute on Communist Affairs in New York, and Professor N. Riasanowsky, were appointed to the Board of Directors.

It should be added that the Institute headed by Professor Brzeziński, founded in 1961, is one of the largest and most energetic academic anti-Communist centres in America.

Similarly as in the GFR, American institutes of "Sovietology studies" remain in close collaboration with the United States government, and in particular with the State Department and other American administration organs.

A separate book could be devoted to the American edition of *Ostforschung*. Our only purpose here is to demonstrate the permanent nature of the relationship and ties existing between German scholars on "Eastern" affairs and their American colleagues. This re-

lationship is continued in various form. German scholars are invited to participate in the work of American institutes; they take part in scientific meetings and sessions of American "Sovietology" centres. Reciprocally, American experts collaborate with *Ostforschung* organization centres in the GFR.

As from 1962, American-German academic congresses devoted to Eastern problems are held regularly. The first one was organized in Chicago in 1962. Its principle subject was: "Berlin and the Future of Eastern Europe." The second Congress was held in 1963, under the auspices of *Studiengesellschaft für Fragen mittel- und osteuropäischer Partnerschaft* and the Foreign Affairs Foundation in Wiesbaden.

The third meeting was again held in Wiesbaden, from November 23rd to 25th, 1964. W. Jaksch and other West German speakers tried to exonerate Germany from sole responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War and laid the guilt "more evenly" on other countries as well.

The fourth meeting was held between March 25th to 28th, 1965, again in Chicago. Seventy American professors, journalists and politicians and thirty West German scholars and 30 West German experts on Eastern policy participated. "Western Policy toward Eastern Europe" was the main subject discussed.

On that occasion, statements made by West German revanchists, concerning the Odra-Nysa frontiers, were probably too much even for their American colleagues, and aroused firm opposition from them. Professor R. Byrnes of Indiana University accused Jaksch, Guttenberg and others of "glossing over the Nazi period almost as if it had never existed."

The fifth such conference was held in Wiesbaden in September 1966. It dealt with two problems: "Eastern

Europe in the Process of Change — What Chances for Freedom?" and "Christian Churches under Totalitarian Governments." Here are some extracts from the theses proclaimed by German representatives. Calling for the creation of a "European Centre," which other German representatives also suggested, (the countries they had principally in mind were Germany, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland), the first pre-requisite of which was to absorb the German Democratic Republic, W. Jaksch declared:

"During the great democratic upsurge of 1848, people representing various directions, as for instance the Czech historian Polacky and the German social revolutionary Karl Marx, called for solidarity in non-Russian Europe against Russian imperialism. Such solidarity still remains imperative today.

"General De Gaulle's formula of a Europe extending to the Urals is only a new edition of the absolute concept of Franco-Russian community of interests, directed against Central Europe. The first concept has the purpose of the Anglo-Saxon powers, which need the support of a consolidated Europe, precisely because of their vast commitments in Asia."

Assessing the number of Germans "expelled" from Poland and Czechoslovakia and those fled from the GDR, at 14 million, he presented them as "allies of the free world." Further, he warned against entertaining doubts as to the possibility of their becoming "inflammable material of political explosions." "Can anybody entertain serious doubt," Jaksch continued "that those 10 million expellees and the additional four million refugees from Central Germany (meaning the GDR — author's note) provide excellent recruiting material for an upsurge of new nationalism? I wish to be very clear on this point, I mean new nationalism be-

cause it is quite obviously absurd to brand every defence of legal German national interests with the stigma of neo-Nazism... Chances of a neo-Nazi victory in Germany are equivalent to zero."

Those extracts from Jaksch's statement are by no means specially selected items of interest. His whole speech was an oddity of political opinion, which could have been dimissed with a shrug of the shoulders, were it not for the fact that those are the opinions of a man who until recently was one of the leading politicians in West German SPD and rendered vast services in the reorganization and development of *Ostforschung*. He subsequently served as liaison between Eastern study scholars, the Resettlers' Union and the Federal government. The opinions held by Jaksch are no isolated phenomenon in the GFR.

Here is another statement by K. T. Freiherr zu Guttenberg: "Since we, Europeans, and we, Germans in particular, cannot be reconciled with the status quo of a Europe sundered in two, and since co-existence alone is both insufficient and dangerous, we must find our own methods of independent action, and it is for this reason that we speak, for example of "Europeanizing the German problem." It is not that we intend to refuse our American partners the right to voice their opinions; nothing could be more foolish than that. Rather, it is our belief that Germany's re-unification, reconstruction of European freedom and regaining control of Central Europe, are offensive tasks which the Europeans themselves must be first to solve, particularly in view of our trans-Atlantic partner's increasing commitments in other parts of the world." [1])

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[1]) *Osteuropa und die Hoffnung auf Freiheit*, Cologne, 1967, This is a collective work.

Both those statements (which could be multiplied *ad infinitum*) are only examples which go to prove the kind of language German experts on Eastern affairs are employing toward their friends in the West. With increasing frequency they adopt an admonishing tone in matters relating to freedom and democracy. This attitude does not always arouse admiration among their allies and partners, who occasionally call them to order. But this does not prevent them from reverting over and over again to the same old theses, with a stubbornness bordering on mania. Whatever the words they may dress those theses up in, the fact remains they are always aimed at the same object, namely to annul the results of the Second World War, a war which the Germans themselves unleashed.

Whereas in the existing balance of political forces, German *Ostforschung* leaders are always prepared to submit to the opinions of their strongest partner, namely the Americans, their attitude toward their European partner is quite different.

There, the German scholars find themselves on increasingly firm ground and the strength of their position is constantly increasing. Hence, they behave increasingly high-handedly toward countries where their influence is strong. *Ostforschung* centres exist in two such countries, namely in neutral Switzerland and in Austria. Very strongly developed anti-Communist centres of "Eastern studies" exist in those countries, far in excess of the real needs of any neutral country. The administration authorities in both those countries take no effective steps against this state of affairs.

Two *Ostforschung* centre exist in Switzerland, namely the East European Institute (*Osteuropa-Institut*) at Fribourg University, and the Swiss Eastern Institute (*Schweizerisches Ostinstitut*) in Berne. The for-

mer was created in 1957. It is engaged in scientific-didactic work on "Sovietology." Representatives of 14 countries are among the students attending this Institute, which also engages in extensive publishing activity. In addition to many books, it publishes works by scholar members in the quarterly *Studies in Soviet Thought*. A Dominican Father, Professor J. Bocheński, is head of this Institute.

The Swiss Eastern Institute (*Schweizerisches Ostinstitut*) was formed in 1948. It has a library of over forty thousand volumes and subscribes to 500 periodicals, of which 91 are Soviet and 202 are published in other Socialist countries. The aggressively anti-Communist nature of the Swiss Eastern Institute concedes nothing to the West German centres and possibly even surpasses some of them.

The Institute's organ *Der klare Blick* (Clear Glance) wrote on January 27th, 1960. "Communism is not just an ordinary sort of danger. It is the greatest danger which ever threatened the free world, incomparably greater than National Socialism or fascism ever were."

It is not surprising that as a result of such enunciations the Institute is broadly advertised in the West German press, for example in the *Soldaten-Zeitung*.

More detailed information on this Institute's activities may be found in *Die Tat*, No. 300 of December 21st, 1967. According to this information, the Institute publishes: *Der klare Blick*, a fortnightly publication which reports on political, economic, social and military events in "countries dominated by Communism or under Communist influence." This fortnightly has 13 thousand subscribers in Switzerland and abroad.

Freier Korrespondenz-Dienst (Information bulletin in the service of anti-Communism) publishes arti-

cles on Eastern Europe, which create appearances of a dialogue with the Socialist countries. It is intended mainly for the local press;
Informationsdienst, (A weekly press service of about 100 pages) prepared from a perusal of the press in both European and non-European Socialist countries. It is published for the benefit of the Swiss government and dependent institutions and for big business organizations;
Wirtschaftsdienst, (A weekly bulletin) providing information on economic problems in Socialist countries. This weekly also publishes a fortnightly supplement on problem studies called *Beihefte;*
Pressedienst für die Entwicklungsländer (press service to the developing countries). This service is published in four languages, German, French, English and Spanish, and reaches about 2,000 editorial offices of interested institutions in over 100 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Here are the foreign language titles used: *Revue de la Presse Suisse et commentaires, Swiss Press Reviev and News Report, Revista de la Prensa Suiza.* It also publishes a press review in Arabic;
Der Verlag SOI (*Schweizerisches Ostinstitut*) publishes numerous anti-Communist books. Here are some titles: *Moskaus Hand in Indien* (Moscow Hands in India) by Peter Sager published in 1966; *Schule und Erziehung in der Sowjetunion* (Schools and Education in the Soviet Union) by Nigel Grant, 1966; *Fünfzig Jahre Weltkommunismus* (Fifty Years of World Communism) by Laszlo Révész — 1967; *Kampf des Glaubens, Dokumente aus der Sowjetunion* (The Struggle of the Faith, Documents out of the Soviet Union, by the same author — 1967).

Analysis of the personnel employed by the Swiss Eastern Institute demonstrates the connections ex-

isting between Swiss *Ostforschung,* the big business world, political organizations and the press.

The leading personnel in this Institute supply the results of studies for practical political use. The same object is served by the Institute's publications, prepared by numerous émigrés from the Socialist countries, such as Professor L. Révész, Dr M. Csimáa, J. Przybyla, J. Szikra and many others. The Institute's contacts with West German *Ostforschung* organizations are demonstrated by the fact that Dr P. Sager, a leading member of the Swiss *Osteuropa-Institut* is also a member of the *Schweizerisch-Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ostforschung,* with headquarters in the GFR.

Both the Swiss institutes cooperate in various problems, not only scientific and political ones, with the West German *Ostforschung* organization. An apparently insignificant but nonetheless characteristic item of information about Austrian-Swiss and German collaboration on Eastern studies is provided by the news that a jointly sponsored scholarship fund has been created by the cities of Hamburg and Basel, amounting to 50,000 Swiss Francs for the four artists, four writers, and two students who produce the best work on cultural relations between German speaking countries and countries of East and South-East Europe.

Several centres of Eastern studies exist in Austria. Similarly to their counterpart in the GFR, they take the form of university and institutes, as well as extra-university centres. Some of them are in constant touch with West German centres.

The influence and contacts of West German "Eastern study" experts are not confined to Austria and Switzerland alone. International academic congresses and meetings organized in the GFR and other European and non-European countries may well serve as proof

of this fact. Developments in Marxism-Leninism constitute one of the permanent subjects featured in conferences of every shape and kind, organized by experts on Eastern affairs. In 1961, for instance, an International conference on "Actual Developments in Marxism-Leninism" was held in Cologne, in which representatives of Italy, Sweden, Holland, Britain, Switzerland, Austria, Australia, and the USA took part.

A German-Spanish conference was held in Madrid in 1961, lasting a whole week. The *Deutsch-Spanische Osteuropawoche* was held on the invitation of the Francesco de Wittoria Institute of International Law. The following German professors attended: W. Markert, K. C. Thalheim, H. Gross, R. Maurach, W. Phillip, M. Bernath, T. Uzorinac-Kohary, G. Stadtmüller and R. Vogel. Contents of the reports delivered leave no doubt at all on the anti-Communist nature of this meeting.

Let us also recall the international conference of "Sovietologists" organized in Greece in 1962, in which the following German professors took an active part: B. Meissner, O. Schiller, K. Mehnert, E. Kordt and others. It formed part of the continuous series of international conferences initiated in 1965.

To this same series belongs the conference held in 1965 in Noordwijkaan Zee in Holland, in which representatives of the USA, Britain, France, Canada, India, Japan, Switzerland and the GFR took part.

Many more similar such international and bilateral meetings in which West German *Ostforschung* experts participate were organized.

This is one of the methods by which the West German *Ostforschung* organization is endeavouring to win over public opinion to the world for West German political arguments.

In addition to contacts formed during international scientific meetings, German *Ostforschung* members employ other methods of exerting international influence. In 1962 W. Schütz, chairman of the "Indivisible Germany" *Kuratorium*, went on a propaganda journey to Asian and South-East European countries, which — to quote his expression — "are forced to defend their freedom all along the 'iron-curtain'." He gave lectures, held press conferences, granted interviews and, in fact, spared no efforts to win over public opinion in the countries he visited, for the revanchist aims of Bonn policy.

Professor K. Mehnert was guided by a similar purpose during the journey he made in 1962, when he gave twenty-one lectures in Japan, South Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore, Florida, India and the Lebanon, and concluded with three reports made at NATO sessions. Naturally, representatives of West German "Eastern studies" are not received with open arms everywhere they go. Nevertheless, they make it a point to be present at every conference.

One other such centre was created in 1964, namely *Centro-Studie Ricerche su problemi economico-soziali* (CESES) in Milan. It concentrates on the Socialist countries and on the Soviet Union in particular, and collaborates with corresponding West German institutions.

International academic relations which *Ostforschung* can boast of, may be explained, among others, by the fact that it possesses the best developed centres of studies. Thanks to long-standing efforts and the experience gained, it has succeeded in collecting rich material on various domains of life in the Socialist countries. Hence, it has plenty to give to its partners abroad, who are less experienced in the conduct of Eastern research. Some of those partners make willing use of

materials supplied them by German revanchists holding university Chairs. In France, for example, *Editions de la Table Ronde* — Paris 1968, published the work of Y. Brancion *Oder-Neisse, la ligne de la guerre* (The Odra-Nysa line — a war frontier) which provides a clear and repulsive example of the influence of West German propaganda on some experts in problems of Eastern and other countries.

Accepting Germany's 1937 frontiers as binding, the author considers that Germany has been divided into three parts: the GFR, Central Germany and Eastern Germany. He gives names of Polish historical figures and of purely Polish towns in their German version, for instance he calls Bolesław Krzywousty (Bolesław the Wrymouth) Bolesław Schiefmund, Kruszwica is changed to Kruschwitz, Gniezno to Gnesen, etc. Concocting a version of Polish history and of Polish-German relations, all he sees is a Polish *Drang zum Meer* (pressure to the Sea Coast). With reference to the Odra-Nysa frontier, he expresses the opinion that the Poles "protested" against the ceding of Western and Northern territories to them and were only "forced" to accept them under pressure from the Soviet Union. However, once they "free themselves" from Russian tutelage and "regain their freedom," they will be perfectly willing to live in those territories in common with the Germans who will return there.

Ostforschung influence does not always take such primitive form as in Brancion's book. Occasionally foreign authors endeavour to whitewash the Germans by far more subtle methods. For instance, Professor W. Hofer, a Swiss historian at Bern University who specializes in history of the Third Reich, prepared a selection of documents published by Fischer-Bücherie K. G. in Frankfurt am Mein under the title of

Der Nationalsozialismus — Dokumente 1933—1945. In the introduction to this work, Hofer assures that the book is objective, and the documents Hofer chose were selected with the intent of distorting the political aspect of the 1933—1945 period. Despite his anti-Nazi attitude, he is far more concerned over Hitler's mistakes and the unprofessional nature of his strategic concepts than by his crimes of genocide and others. Hofer apparently noticed only the resistence movement in Germany, or almost so, and goes into rapturous praise of the attempt on Hitler, carried out an July 20th, 1944. Whereas in actual fact, the value of the political difference between this "resistance movement" and Hitler's personal concepts remains doubtful. This can also be observed in the "The Goerdeler Peace Plan of May 30th, 1941 (Goerdeler was to have succeeded Hitler in the event of the attempt being successful — author's note) which was to have been transmitted to the British government." This plan contained the following proposals:

1. "Return of full sovereignty to neutral countries occupied in the course of military operations by the combatant powers;
2. Germany must return to her 1914 frontiers with Belgium, France and Poland;
3. German annexation of Austria, the Sudeten Lands and the Memel District, carried out prior to the outbreak of hostilities, must be recognized."

But Hofer goes even further in absolving the Germans, when he affirms it was not Germany which invented the totalitarian system. According to him "the spiritual fathers of totalitarianism were Rousseau, Sorel, Vilfredo Pareto and Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov," whereas "the fathers of racism and anti-Semitism were the Frenchman, de Gobineau and the Englishman,

Houston Steward Chamberlain, Richard Wagner's son-in-law." "It is by no means due to accident that the word 'pogrom' is of Russian origin," Hofer declares. The only thing that this "objective" Swiss scholar and Christian Democrat holds against Hitler is that he squandered the former achievements of German's *Drang nach Osten.* In fact, he concludes with the following statement:

"The balance of the twelve years history of National Socialism and its rule is terrible indeed. Not only was the whole of Germany and half of Europe laid waste, but Bismarck's heritage, the unity of the German State was destroyed, the great work of Prussian kings was ruined and worse still, centuries of historical development represented by German colonization in the East, was squandered. Soldiers of the Soviet Army are standing on the banks of the Elbe, and this fact faces Europe with the greatest danger in all of its history."

Examples of *Ostforschung* political influence on foreign writers could be continued further, but for the present those two are sufficient to illustrate the influence of West German propaganda on public opinion in foreign countries. It must be stressed however that propaganda conducted in an *Ostforschung* spirit by this Frenchman and by the "unprejudiced" Swiss professor arouses less suspicion which makes it all the more dangerous.

This review of the organizational network of *Ostforschung* centres in the GFR, of their contacts abroad and their influence on the West German community and on public opinion in other countries, might be accused of certain one-sidedness. A critical reader might well ask: are all West German scholars, engaged in the study of East European problems, revisionists, re-

vanchists and anti-Communists? Are there no Germans whose sincere desire is to contribute loyally to peaceful co-existence between nations, no people who honestly reject all revisionist concepts? The answer to such a question would have to be in the affirmative. But the fact remains that they are few and the range of their influence is small. As an example, one may quote books by G. Stökl *Osteuropa und die Deutschen*,[2]) Ilsa Staff *Justiz im Dritten Reich* and H. Rasch's *Die Bundesrepublik und Osteuropa*, whose authors render an honest account of Germany's recent political past, proving willingness to arrive at a peaceful solution of the German problem on the basis of the existing status quo in Europe.

One might also mention the Mickiewicz Group which exists in the GFR and publishes the *Mickiewicz-Blätter* three times annually in booklet form of about a hundred pages each, on Polish literature and the humanities in Poland. The intention to arrive at a peaceful understanding between East and West, and in particular between Poland and Germany, becomes clearly apparent from articles published in *Mickiewicz-Blätter*. Here are some titles of articles published in Booklet XXXIV/XXXV in 1967: "On the Great Country of Poets, or, Poets Link the Peoples of the World Together" by P. Schneider, and "Frédéric Chopin, Adam Mickiewicz and Ourselves" by H. Dietrich Kenter. It also publishes articles by W. Kubacki, T. Kotarbiński, Buddensieg and others.

Alongside publications in book form, names of authors and titles of articles occasionally published in

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[2]) Compare M. Podkowiński's extensive report — "Professor Stökl explains", *Trybuna Ludu* of January 11th, 1968.

the German press could be recalled, as well as radio and television broadcasts, of a peaceful and anti-revisionist nature. For example "Von Thadden did not fall from the Sky" by D. Strothmann (*Die Zeit* of May 10th, 1968). "A Picture of the German Right" by A. Abendroth (*Frankfurter Hefte,* May 1968) and other articles.

If, in fact, this work does not devote much space to West German scholars devoted to the cause of peace and friendship between nations, this is not because we are unaware of their existence or that we underestimate the political value of their work. Every book they publish and every public statement they make is given current comment in the Polish press. A separate work should be devoted to this peaceful trend in West German policy, science and journalism. But if the centre of gravity in this present work has been placed on the anti-Communist and revanchist direction of *Ostforschung* activities, it is because this direction is clearly predominent in West German political sciences, and constitutes the greatest danger to every Socialist country, Poland included.

Chapter IV

OSTFORSCHUNG FINANCES

The source from which *Ostforschung* draws financial means for the conduct of its operations is no secret at all. Those resources are mainly provided from Federal and Land budgets.

This is quite understandable in view of the obvious convergence of aims between GFR government policy and *Ostforschung* activities. The latter serve the revanchist aims of Bonn government policy, and therefore the government pays. It is far more difficult to surmise the extent of financial outlay for the *Ostforschung* organization as such, or even for its individual institutes.

"Eastern studies" centres and institutes are financed not only from the budget resources of various Federal and Land ministries, but from other sources also, namely by foundations, organizations and unions, whose purpose is to support academic studies. To this must be added payments for various commissioned research work, financial aid granted for publication work, occasional grants from both at home and abroad, mainly from the USA, etc. Neither the Federal government, nor the *Ostforschung* organization as such, has any interest in disclosing the extent of resources allocated for Eastern studies. Hence, the difficulty in surmising the sum-total of this outlay.

The GFR press only publishes occasional short ref-

erences on this subject. We shall only quote the most important materials we have managed to obtain. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is one of the principle sources of state budget revenue. This is an interesting fact since from the moment the Ministry of Education was formed, it should have naturally taken charge of *Ostforschung* study centres. In 1963 the Federal Chancellor solved this problem. He ruled that all scientific centres would be subject to the Ministry of Education "with the exception of the Federal Archives, the German Institute of History, the Institute of Sovietology and supporting *Ostforschung*, the Contemporary History Institute, the Commission of Parliamentary History and Political Parties, the Higher School of Administration in Speyer and the Bredow Radio and Television Institute." [1]) This decision once again confirms the purely political nature of *Ostforschung* as such.

Information concerning resources at the disposal of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for Eastern research purposes may be found, among others, in the collective work *Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus und Hochschulwesen in Westdeutschland"* (Berlin 1966). The following may be found on page 443:

"All told, the Bonn Ministry of Internal Affairs pays out to Eastern study institutes, including the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, a round sum of 14.6 million DM." [2]) Despite the fact that it acts as official supervisor of *Ostforschung* activities, the Ministry of

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[1]) *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes*, No. 85/1963, page 746, according to *Die Welt*, No. 111/1963 of May 14th, 1963, page 1.

[2]) H. Schlesinger, *Die Rolle der Hochschulkader im Zusammenhang mit der Ostforschung-Ostpolitik in Westdeutschland*, page 443.

Internal Affairs is not its most generous benefactor. This role falls to the Ministry for All-German Affairs, which has important resources at its disposal for "additional payments to research institutes and for cultural and other purposes of national policy." In 1959 those resources amounted to 47,456,000 DM.[3])

There will be no dificulty in surmising which institutes figure in the budget of this Ministry or what part of the sum specified above is allocated for *Ostforschung* purposes, but unfortunately details permitting a closer estimate of this sum are not available.

The Ministry for All-German Affairs finances such institutes as the *Godfried Herder-Institut* in Marburg, the *Südost-Institut* in Munich, *Göttinger Arbeitskreis*, *Nordostdeutsche Akademie* in Lüneburg, etc. There is no necessity to add that *Forschungsbeirat für Fragen der Wiedervereinigung Deutschlands* is entirely financed by this Ministry.

The Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, finances coordinating associations, and above all the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde* and *Südosteuropagesellschaft.*

Important additional resources are also provided by the Ministry for Resettlers' Affairs, as well as by other ministries, namely the Ministry of National Economy, the Food Ministry and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

Land governments also show an understanding of the material needs of Eastern study centres and institutes.

The "Union of Founders of German Science" is another source of donations. It disposes of resources con-

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[3]) Compare Gentzen and Wolfgramm, op. cit., page 142.

tributed by German big business centres which screen their interest in "Eastern studies" behind this Union.

Also both the principle churches in West Germany, namely the Protestant and Catholic Church, do not stint financial assistance to *Ostforschung* members of either denomination. Other donations are contributed from abroad by such American institutions as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Financial assistance given to *Ostforschung* takes various form. It may be either regular budget payments, lump-sum payments, or payments for commissioned research work. It may also take the form of scholarships granted either at home or abroad, usually to young scholars.

Investments are a separate position. For example, the university now under construction in Ratisbon and the institutes in West Berlin.

Universities and other higher schools are the "Eastern studies" principle and unfailing source of finance. The reason why many professors and scholars devote their time to work in extra-university institutes and organizations, free of charge, is due to the fact that in principle, they draw their pay from one source only, namely from the basic place of their employment, the higher schools.

This must be kept in mind when considering the comparatively small number of people permanently employed in extra-university institutes, and in particular when investigating the budgets of individual institutes. Remuneration received by scholars employed in higher schools does not figure again in institute budgets.

Some concrete facts must be supplied in illustration of the general information provided above:

Between 1954 and 1965 the *Osteuropa-Institut* in

Berlin received the sum of one million DM from *Stiftverband für die deutsche Wissenschaft.*[4])

The official budget of the Foreign Ministry shows a position of 500,000 DM paid out annually to the Co-ordinating Association.

By 1975 construction of the new university in Bochum will have cost the sum of 2.5 thousand million DM. Part of its buildings will house *Ostforschung* university Chairs, seminars and institutes. Investments in other university centres do not exceed the sum of 900 million DM. This refers to such cities as Bremen, Bielefeld-Herford, Dortmund and Konstanz.[5])

Informationen No. 3/1966 announced that the budget of the Press and Information Office carried the sum of 55 million DM for propaganda work in the so-called public opinion sector, and stressed that this does not represent the full figure.

The same issue of *Informationen* had the following to say about *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik:*

"This Association has recently increased its commitments toward Eastern policy. It organized a Study which will be mainly concerned with the research, analysis and study of the complex relationship between West Germany, the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries in Eastern Europe... The Association receives a regular subsidy from the Foreign Ministry..." In this domain it is also trying to "develop close relations with the Press and Information Office," "in particular as concerns the foreign progapanda sector." It also receives

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[4]) H. Schlesinger, op. cit., page 443.

[5]) S. Prokop, "*Zum Charakter der neugegründeten Universität Bochum*" page 455, *Redaktion das Hochschulwesen*, Berlin, 1966.

financial assistance from the "Circle of Benefactors" which represents 107 companies and other economic institutions, such as the "Volkswagen Foundation" and the "Fritz Thyssen Foundation." Other institutes also receive subsidies from various foundations (for instance, the Rockefeller Foundation), economic associations and industrial concerns to which they supply expert opinions and assessments on the existing situation, etc. For instance, according to a report on the last ten-year period, in 1960 the *Osteuropa-Institut* at the West Berlin University prepared 56 detailed assessments in writing and 520 written reports, to which must be added its permanent information service to economic organizations and other unspecified offices. This information is submitted in the *Ostfachdienst* (Professional Eastern Service). This publication is divided into several series. For instance "Series E" carries the subtitle "The Electrotechnical Industry and Power Economy in Eastern Bloc countries." It is impossible to specify the amount of financial support which the *Osteuropa-Institut* receives in return for this sort of advisory service. [6])

All this represents only a handful of scant information about *Ostforschung* finances, which obviously precludes an estimate of the total outlay for *Ostforschung.* Were we to hazard even an approximate estimate of the total sum of outlays on "Eastern studies," by means of the approximate account method (number of academic workers, assistant scholars, technical and administrative workers employed, library purchases made, costs of administration and publication etc.), a figure of at least 100 million DM annually would certainly be entailed. But is there any real necessity to go into

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[6]) *Informationen,* No. 4/1963, page, 9.

such complicated accounts to realize the vast efforts of West German science on "Eastern studies" intended to contribute to the revanchist aims of Bonn policy?

This outline of the *Ostforschung* organization network of the number of its employees, publications and in particular of the essence of *Ostforschung* academic and propaganda activities, will be amply sufficient to provide understanding of the magnitude of the danger concealed behind anti-Communist "Eastern studies," not only for the Poles but for the Germans themselves.

Twice already in the past, German citizens have had to pay for the results of the *Ostpolitik* conducted by their governments and for the *Ostforschung* activities connected with that policy. Now, the average tax-payer and consumer of propaganda in West Germany must bear all the cost of the *Ostforschung* organization. Let us hope they will not have to pay for its results all over again.

Chapter V

THE BORDER PROBLEM

Political and geographical conditions in present-day Europe are the result of the defeat of Nazi Germany which had aimed at the subjugation of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. German *Ostforschung* scholars played an active part in preparing and implementing those aggressive plans. At a time when Czechoslovakia, Poland and other European countries were denied the right to national existence, when millions of Poles, Russians and other nations were being biologically exterminated in gas chambers and by other criminal methods, the professors and experts in Eastern studies presented no opposition to those crimes, but in fact, either directly or indirectly, participated in them. They were filled with admiration for their Feuhrer, the man responsible for those crimes — for Adolf Hitler and his regime.

East European nations condemned to political, national and biological extinction managed to preserve their freedom and to destroy the administrative, political and military National Socialist machine, thanks to their unprecedented heroism, at the cost of millions of lives sacrificed in defence of fundamental human values.

When Nazi Germany signed the act of unconditional surrender, it might have been expected that as a result of its total defeat, criminal politicians and scientists

responsible for those "days of contempt" would repent and renounce their former practices once and for all.

Unfortunately, this never happened. Leading centres of international imperialism, and those in the United States in particular, harbour hatred for the ideology which emerged victorious in the Soviet Union and is becoming increasingly popular in other European countries. They decided to break the existing alliance, arouse illusory hopes that the outcome of the Second World War would be abolished, restore German nationalism and direct it once more against the East European countries. Whereas in the Eastern part of Germany power has been taken over by representatives of anti-fascist and Socialist Democratic elements conscienciously engaged in carrying out the denazification programme, in West Germany, the old discredited forces were rapidly restored, under the auspices of the occupying powers. Under new conditions, they reinstated the traditional programme of *Drang nach Osten* under the pretext of the revision of frontiers, with slogans of "the right to the fatherland," "the right to return home" and "the right to the re-unification of Germany."

Just as during the inter-war period, Germany endeavoured to prove the injustice of political and territorial changes created in Europe by the Treaty of Versailles, the German Federal Republic is now emphasizing its rights to territories east of the Odra and Nysa by proclaiming a doctrine of the alleged illegality of the Potsdam Agreements, the illegal and inhuman expulsion of Germans from their native parts to which they have an "irrefutable" right. Historical facts are distorted and principles of international law are falsely interpreted to justify revisionist territorial claims.

The part played by *Ostforschung* in preparing var-

ious political concepts, essetial for the conduct of contemporary revisionist doctrines, is not insignificant. The extensive ideological campaign advanced by experts in eastern affairs and aimed at the rehabilitation of Nazi criminals, justification of crimes committed by them in occupied countries and toning down the terrible impression left behind by Nazi rulers in the world at large, may be considered as one of those concepts. Dissemination of the opinion that the war Hitler unleashed was morally justified and that Nazi Germany's defeat was a disaster for Europe is the most disgraceful one of all.[1])

One of the aims of this campaign is to reduce Germany's responsibility for war crimes. For instance, Dr F. Gause came to the conclusion that military operations by Nazi armies were "morally justified, but were darkened by Hitler's immoral methods." [2]) This opinion is shared by other experts on Eastern affairs, such as Boehm,[3]) who, while lamely refuting discredited Nazi methods, asserts that Hitler's war aims were morally justified, and that only his methods were false. Whereas H. G. Seraphim, analyzing German-Soviet relations between 1939—1941, stressed that Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union was dictated by reasons of defence." [4])

When discussing the attitude of the German occupying authorities in the East and South-East European countries, Herzog justifies the crimes of genocide, con-

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[1]) *Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges.* Collective Work, Bonn 1956, 2nd edition.

[2]) F. Gause, *Deutsch-slavische Schicksalsgemeinschaft* Kitzingen 1952. p. 279.

[3]) M. H. Boehm, *Vergessener Osten,* Göttingen 1952.

[4]) H. G. Seraphim, *Die deutsch-russischen Beziehungen 1939—1941.* Hamburg 1949.

centration camps, ghettos, gas chambers and every sort of repression against the defenceless population in occupied territories. He endeavours to convince public opinion that repressions carried out by the Nazis were caused "by guerilla action, in contravention of occupational regulations." [5])

It is a well known fact that even before Hitler seized power, German banks and industrial capital supplied all necessary financial assistance to the NSDAP and fully supported the Nazi policies of world conquest. They were tempted by enormous future profits entailed, among others in the armaments industry. Despite this, A. von Knieriem, after a careful analysis of war criminal trials, tried to prove that German industrial concerns could not be blamed for the outbreak of war. In his opinion, German high finance, and above all the well-known IG-Farben Industrie concern, were unjustly accused, after the war, of participation in Nazi crimes.[6]) A. Knieriem's reasoning manifested the attitude which caused the release of Alfred Krupp from prison as early as 1951, and the restitution of his property.[7]) Krupp and other industrial and financial magnates in the Third Reich are much sought after in the German Federal Republic today. West German *Ostforschung* continues to serve their interests.

Attempts to rehabilitate Nazi criminals are supported by assertions on the part of *Ostforschung* leaders

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[5]) R. Herzog, *Grundzüge der deutschen Besatzungsverwaltung in den Ost- und südosteuropäischen Ländern während des zweiten Weltkrieges.* Tübingen 1955.

[6]) A. Knieriem, *Nürnberg. Rechtliche und menschliche Probleme,* Stuttgart 1953.

[7]) Lt. J. Sawicki, *Od Norymbergi do układu paryskiego* (From Nuremberg to the Paris Treaty), Warszawa, pages 95—110.

about "material advantages" derived by vast numbers of the population in occupied countries (G. H. Rhode),[8]) which attained higher standards of living than before the war (H. von Streng).[9])

Mendacious statements of this kind are intended to blur recollections of Nazi attrocities and form a basis for revisionist allegations.

According to these allegations "the fact that the Polish border was shifted to the West was harmful to Poland herself since, without German help, the Poles would be incapable of reconstructing prosperity in the Western and Northern territories."

In 1953, for instance, O. Schneider asserted that "the standards of living on territories lost to Germany are much lower now,"[10]) and according to P. H. Seraphim: "those territories show a disastrous decline in culture." [11]) The lands east of the Odra and Nysa were described by H. von Krannhals as a desert area,[12]) and H. Aubin argued that "the Silesian petty craft and industrial economy has been so neglected, it cannot be reconstructed." [13]) All those opinions by *Ostforschung* leaders form part of an anti-Soviet campaign. The opinion that Poles and Germans together have long been defenders of the West and that the Soviet Union represents the same threat to Poland and the Western coun-

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[8]) G. Rhode, *Osteuropa,* Stuttgart, 1952, p. 147.

[9]) H. Streng, *Die Landwirtschaft im Generalgouvernement,* Tübingen, 1955.

[10]) O. Schneider, *Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten,* Köln-Braunsfeld 1953.

[11]) P. H. Seraphim, *Die Wirtschaft Ostdeutschlands vor und nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg,* Stuttgart, 1952, p. 104.

[12]) H. von Krannhals, *Ostdeutschland heute.* Lüneburg 1956.

[13]) H. Aubin, *Der deutsche Osten und das Abendland,* München 1953.

tries, can often be heard in the German Federal Republic.

Dr O. Schneider, in his work published in 1953, on problems of political relations in Eastern Europe, discussed the part played by the Soviet Union in shaping the development of the Socialist countries and called for "a wedge to be driven between those countries and the Soviet Union." In his opinion, Poland is one of the first countries to be considered in this respect. [14])

Parallel with the growth of West German militarism and the expansion of *Ostforschung*, old reactionary doctrines are being restored in new form.

In the work published in 1953, H. Aubin dwells on conditions existing in both East and West European countries and emphasizes German national superiority and their mission in the East. He does not conceal that his warning against the Slavonic threat specifically concerns the threat of Communist ideology.[15])

In his work published in 1957 and devoted exclusively to Soviet issues,[16]) H. Koch stated that the Socialist community was faced with an economic crisis causing profound political conflicts in the East. In his opinion those conflicts may create a favourable atmosphere for the Western countries' Eastern policy.

A similar method of reasoning is followed by E. Lemberg when discussing cultural and social relations in the Socialist countries and in the Soviet Union in particular.[17])

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[14]) O. Schneider, *Osteuropa und der deutsche Osten*, op. cit.

[15]) H. Aubin, *Der deutsche Osten und das Abendland*, München 1953.

[16]) H. Koch, *Das Sowjetbuch*, Köln 1957.

[17]) E. Lemberg, *Osteuropa und die Sowjetunion*, Salzburg 1956.

Hence, arguments and theories developed by experts in Eastern studies are aimed to awaken and uphold the revisionist attitude and serve the cause of psychological warfare against Communism.

Some aims of *Ostforschung* leaders were given in a statement by K. Bittner. He specified two variants of Eastern studies: one concerned only German settlements in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe lost to Germany and attentively followed cultural and economic developments in those parts; the other, dealt with studies of the areas between the Baltic and the Balkans. The author stated that no precise geographical definition of this territory was possible since "it never formed a single whole or nation and therefore possesses no natural centre of gravity. Since all East European nations had ties with the West and since it was from Germany that West European culture came down to them, the role of such a natural centre of gravity was taken over by the Greater German Reich." [18])

This short review of the theoretical speculations by specialists in Eastern studies forms the ideological basis of all contemporary revisionist concepts. They prove the present ties existing between *Ostforschung* and the National Socialist ideology. Hence it was no accident that leading *Ostforschung* experts, in the forefront of public life in the German Federal Republic, were also experts in the Nazi programme of extermination of the East European nations.

Supported as they are by large numbers of refugees from the East and extending new arguments relevent to the present situation, they call on the German nation to take up their *Drang nach Osten* once again.

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[18]) K. Bittner, *Ostkunde und Ostforschung* 1954 (Dr Johannes Kalisch, *"Der Kampf gegen die Ostforschung"* report).

Their campaign is directed principally against the Potsdam Agreements, as a result of which the just frontier on the Odra and Nysa had been established.

Contemporary *Ostforschung* arguments awaken nationalist trends cultivated in the German Federal Republic, as does the whole ideology of West German revisionism.

Hence, present anti-Communism in the German Federal Republic is an element of imperialist German expansion, threatening everybody and its Eastern neighbours in particular, as Nazi German anti-Communism had done. It also threatens world peace, since in case of an armed confrontation, in view of the present balance of power and development of military technique, the nations of the world would be faced with the most dreadful disaster ever known.

THE POTSDAM AGREEMENTS AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ODRA-NYSA FRONTIER

The memorandum of the *Landsmannschaft* Union in Bonn, addressed to the Paris Conference in May 1960, in which revisionist leaders refer to Art. 1 and 2 of the Atlantic Charter signed on August 14th, 1941, which banned all acts of annexation, reads as follows: "... from the point of view of international law, no legal frontier changes of the East German border exist. Hence the refugees claim no revisions, they only demand respect of the legal state of affairs in respect of Germany's borders..."

Acting in support of these revanchist and revisionist forces, *Ostforschung* brings forward its own arguments which must be dealt with from the point of view of international law and of the Polish *raison d'état*. These are as follows:

1. The boundary on the Odra and Lusatian Nysa is not final, since in the Potsdam Agreements the four occupying powers decided that Poland's final borders would be settled by the peace treaty, which so far has not been concluded. In fact, the territories east of the Odra and Nysa have been placed under Poland's temporary administration. To reduce the significance of the Potsdam Agreements, West German revisionists claim these Agreements are not binding, since they have not been ratified by either of the parties concerned.
2. The concept of the provisional nature of Poland's Western frontier is being promoted parallel with theories developed by *Ostforschung* centres on illegal conveyance by the four powers of a part of the former German Reich to Poland. The Potsdam Agreements cannot therefore be regarded as an international settlement of the problem of territorial cessions in Poland's favour, since no German signature figures on it. Thus, by rejecting the Potsdam Agreements, *Ostforschung* theoreticians endeavour to create a false impression that Poland illegally annexed former German Eastern territories. This thesis is supported by the fact that some Western countries have not yet officially recognized the Odra-Nysa frontier.
3. Refusing recognition of the Potsdam Agreements, West German revisionists plead the legality of frontiers as on December 31st, 1937, as well as those of September 1939, recognizing in fact Germany's acts of aggression, which were widely condemned by world public opinion. According to them the annexation of the Sudetenland, Memel and Gdańsk, accorded with international law, whereas the return of those territories to their legal owners

is considered as annexation of East German territory, including the Prussian State, the complete liquidation of which has been overlooked by *Ostforschung* scholars.

These statements by *Ostforschung* theoreticians form a general doctrine, according to which the territories of Memel, and East Prussia, lands east of the Odra-Nysa and the Sudetenland remain under Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak occupation, since the Allied Powers had no right to decide their national status without Germany's consent.

This absurd doctrine has been repeatedly brought up in the international arena by West German revisionists, despite the fact that this stand is a flagrant contradiction of theory and practice in international law.

The factual legal and international status of Poland's Western and Northern territories may be defined as follows:

1. The Potsdam Agreements determine the Odra-Nysa line as Poland's border in the West. True, the Agreements specify at one point that "Poland should wait until a peace treaty for an ultimate settlement of her Western frontier," [19]) but this concerns final delimitation only.

According to J. Makowski: "Poland's border line mentioned in the Potsdam Agreements was defined in most general terms, hence both in Yalta and Potsdam, it was stipulated that the final delimitation would be settled by a peace treaty. The term 'delimitation' has a strictly specific meaning. It signifies border delineation on a large-scale map. Minor deviations from the

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[19]) Quote acc.: E. Osmańczyk, *Germany 1945—1950. Figures, facts, dates, commentaries*, Warsaw 1951.

original project to the either side may occur, as was the case with the Curzon line." [20])

In Bolesław Wiewióra's opinion, delimitation is synonymous with minor alterations of the border; hence, it cannot offer the possibility for general, or almost general changes of the border line. He adds that "in the general light of Potsdam Agreement decisions, delimitation of the Polish-German frontier, to be accomplished by the peace treaty with Germany, would not involve any basic changes, whether as to frontier delineation on the treaty maps only, or by setting up frontier posts as well." [21])

In fact, A. Klafkowski was correct in pointing out that "as regards territorial settlements, a future peace treaty with Germany can ultimately adopt the legal status sanctioned by the Potsdam Agreements and the legal acts constituting the implementation of the Potsdam provisions." [22])

Contrary to what is being asserted by West German revisionists, the borders defined in the Potsdam Agreements were conceived as final, which is proved by the decision of the Allied Control Council for Germany at its second session on November 20th, 1945, to adopt the plan for the evacuation of the German population from Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland to the four zones of occupation in Germany. This plan envisaged that "the entire German popu-

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[20]) J. Makowski, *Podręcznik Prawa Międzynarodowego* (Textbook of International Law), Warszawa 1948, pages 22—23.

[21]) B. Wiewióra, *Poczdamskie decyzje o granicy Odra-Nysa Łużycka* (Potsdam Decisions on the Odra-Nysa Frontier), *Przegląd Zachodni,* No. 5/6 1955, pages 22—63.

[22]) A. Klafkowski, *Granica polsko-niemiecka a konkordaty z lat 1929—1933* (The Polish-German Frontier and the Concordate of 1929—1933), Warszawa 1958, page 42.

lation to be resettled from Poland (3.5 million people) would be permitted to enter the Soviet and British occupation zone in Germany." [23])

This plan was carried out and, in fact, was consistent with implementation of the Potsdam Agreements, according to which: "the three governments, having considered the matter from every angle, decided that measures should be undertaken to resettle in Germany all elements of the German population still remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary." [24])

Allegations as to the temporary character of Poland's Western frontier cannot withstand criticism. Territories east of the Odra and Lusation Nysa were returned to Poland on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements prior to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, and the final border delimitation cannot produce any fundamental changes.

Stubborn maintenance of the thesis that the term "administration" employed in the Potsdam documents is relevant to the temporary nature of the Polish rule on territories east of the Odra and Nysa stands in contradiction with the interpretation of the content of the Agreements. The term "administration," as used in the Potsdam documents, is relevent to the Polish State which represents this administration. How this administration is fulfilled is Poland's own affair.

A thorough analysis of the Potsdam Agreements, with due consideration of the meaning of each phrase, allows the justified assertion that territories east of the Odra and Nysa were termed in Art. 9 as "former German parts," whereas territories west of the Odra and Nysa as "German territory." In the same Potsdam

[23]) Quote acc. to Osmańczyk, *Germany 1945—1950*, page 16.

[24]) Op. cit.

Agreements, Art. 13 recommends the repatriation of the "German population from Poland." "Poland" is the name given to "former German territories east of the Odra and Nysa" in contrast to the "German territory" on the other side of the border. Such are the irrevocable facts. The lands east of the Odra and Nysa, for instance, were never defined as the fifth occupation zone. All the Potsdam documents and executive instructions, as well as official statements by representatives of the Four Powers, deal only with four zones of occupation in Germany.

The argument that the Postdam Agreements were never ratified is not pertinent. None of the parties concerned ever questioned their internationally legally binding nature. It is also indisputable that the Agreements did not insist on ratification by the parties concerned.[25])

2. On June 5th, 1945, the Commanders-in-Chief of the Allied forces in Germany proclaimed a joint declaration on Germany's defeat and the assumption of supreme authority in Germany by the governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the Republic of France. In the introduction to the declaration, they emphasized that Germany had signed the act of unconditional surrender in Marshal Zhukov's headquarters in Berlin on May 8th, 1945. On behalf of the German High Command the act was signed by generals Keitel, Friedeburg, and Stumpf. The act of surrender stated:

"...acting on hebalf of the German High Command, we consent to surrender unconditionally to the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army and the Comman-

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[25]) That is A. Klafkowski's opinion, op. cit. page 44.

ders-in-Chief of the Allied Expeditionary Forces our air, sea and land forces, as well as all the other forces now under German command." [26])

Hence, any central German government which could be held responsible for preserving order in the country had ceased to exist. In this connection, the Four Power declaration of June 5th, 1945, stated as follows: "The governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Government of the Republic of France assume supreme authority in Germany, including competences of the German government, the High Command, and all other national, county or local government duties." [27])

On the same day the Four Power governments published the following statement, supplementing the declaration on Germany's surrender:

— declaration on the control apparatus in Germany, creating the Allied Control Council for Germany,
— declaration on the assumption of supreme authority in Germany by the Four Powers,
— declaration on the occupation zones in Germany.

The views of *Ostforschung* theoreticians restricting the unconditional surrender terms to military matters only are entirely unfounded. Unconditional surrender entailed certain political and legal consequences. The Four Allied Powers had the supreme authority in territorial issues as well. Hence, they had authority to conclude agreements concerning German territories without the participation of the Germans. The absence of a central German government rendered impossible

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[26]) Texts according to E. Osmańczyk, *Germany 1945—1950*, page 9.

[27]) Op. cit.

the signing of such agreements by Germany's representatives. This state of affairs resulted from the unconditional surrender of the German Army and the supreme authority taken over by the Four Powers governments.

In those circumstances, the Four Powers, acting in accordance with occupational law, were alone competent to map out the German State frontiers. In the light of the Potsdam Agreements, the Four Powers transferred part of the former German territories over to Poland. The following statement by A. Klafkowski is pertinent in this respect:

"The part of former German territory, which has been handed over to Poland, represents a specific sort of cession. In fact, retrocession is involved here. Hence, the parts returned to Poland in 1945 were termed Regained Territories. The term itself signifies the return to the Mother country of territories which had suffered various vicissitudes in their history, as is often the case of frontier areas." [28])

The term "retrocession" was not invented by this Polish scholar in interpretation of the Potsdam Agreements. It has a long standing history and was given much attention in works by A. Klafkowski, Schledter, Campbell and others, with reference to the theory and practice of international law.[29])

This retrocession, as a result of which Poland regained her ancient Piast lands in 1945, becomes even more evident in the light of the Yalta Agreements. Wherever possible, both the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements were intentionally ignored in the works of *Ostforschung* theoreticians in order to create the impres-

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[28]) A. Klafkowski, op. cit., page 56.

[29]) A. Klafkowski, op. cit., page 45—64.

sion that, in fact, they had never legally existed. All this is aimed at the universal adoption of the thesis that annexation is a consequence of assenting to the piecemealing of Germany. However, you cannot conceal from world public opinion the fact that the concept of extending Polish territory to the west was adopted in Art. 6 of the Yalta Agreements. The endeavours of West German revisionists to deny legal foundations of the Yalta Agreements, in which it was agreed that Poland would extend her territory to the west, do not eliminate the fact that the decisions taken both in Yalta and Potsdam were constitutive on issues of Poland's territorial vindication.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union on the problem of the Odra-Nysa frontier ensues from the recognition of the Potsdam Agreements, also signed by representatives of the Western Powers. The government of the Soviet Union has repeatedly emphasized this consistent attitude, recognizing Poland's Odra-Nysa frontier as final and compatible with international law.

The Treaty of Zgorzelec on the Polish-German State boundary [30]) concluded on July 6th, 1950, between the governments of Poland and the German Democratic Republic, testifies to the latter's respect of the Potsdam Agreements. The agreement on the installation of frontier posts along the Polish-German State border, signed on January 27th, 1951 [31]) in Frankfurt on Oder, completed the work of final delimitation of the border in question. These are facts of remarkable international significance, since the German Federal Republic has no common frontiers with Poland, whereas Poland has a common frontier with the German Democratic Re-

[30]) *Dziennik Ustaw* of 1951, No. 14 position 106.
[31]) *Dziennik Ustaw* of 1952, No. 53 position 346.

public, a State with which it has the right to settle border questions.

From the point of view of international law, the attitude of a state bordering with Poland (i. e., the German Democratic Republic) has greater importance than that of another not directly neighbouring country.[32])

The opinion of a well-known expert in international law, Professor R. Pinto of the Law Department at Paris University, should be given particular emphasis here. In a concise and extensively argumented treatise, he discusses this legality of Poland's Western frontier and states that it is legal from the viewpoint of international law, whereas the territorial claims of West German revisionists are unfounded.

To prove his arguments, R. Pinto refers to the declaration signed by representatives of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States and France, which stated that "the Four Powers' governments represent the highest authority in Germany ... and will decide later upon the statute and frontiers of each zone, at present forming part of Germany."

This declaration does not deny the GFR's right to conclude treaties with third countries (i. e., other than the four Allied Powers). As an example R. Pinto cites the frontier treaties concluded with the GFR by Belgium on January 24th, 1956, and Holland on March lst-2nd, 1957. The legality of those treaties has never been questioned. "By the same taken," Pinto asserts, "the GDR-Polish frontier treaty signed in July 1950 in Zgorzelec is also valid, provided that the German Democratic Republic is granted legal recognition as a State". Is this really so? Pinto gives an affirmative answer

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[32]) This matter is discussed in greater detail by A. K l a f k o w s k i, op. cit., page 170.

to this question, referring to the work by Professor Rousseau on the subject, and emphasizing that all treaties concluded by the German Democratic Republic, a legally existing State, are binding, hence also the Zgorzelec treaty whereby the GDR recognized Poland's Western frontier. According to principles of international law "the re-unification of Germany, following the peace treaty, or achieved as a result of some other settlement, cannot be sufficient cause for annulling frontier treaties. A re-united Germany would remain bound by frontier treaties concluded with third parties by either of the German States (GDR or GFR) which would then comprise the whole of Germany. Thus, a peace treaty between Germany and the Four Powers is not sufficient to change eventually the present borders of Poland. Consent would also have to be given by Poland for any frontier changes or any other revision of the territorial status quo to become legal."[33])

Hence, R. Pinto regards the Zgorzelec treaty as a binding frontier agreement. Recognition of this fact and renunciation of territorial claims against Poland should be imperative for the Bonn government, if full normalization of relations between the two countries is to be attained.

The argument that diplomatic relations are maintained with the Polish State in its existing frontiers may be regarded as an adequate counter-balance to the arguments of revisionist *Ostforschung* theoreticians who eagerly state the fact that not all Western countries have officially declared themselves in favour of

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[33]) R. Pinto, *"Le problème juridique de la frontière occidentale de la Pologne."* Prepared from an article by R. Pelmar published in *Odnowa*, No. 2 of February 1961.

the final recognition of the Odra-Nysa line as Poland's Western frontier. Tactical and political reasons which, because of the internal strife within the political parties, cause some Western politicians to refrain from giving their support for the Polish Western frontier in public, cannot lead to the conclusion suggested by *Ostforschung* theoreticians, that this is synonymous with non-recognition of the boundaries, finally decided in the Potsdam Agreements. Sovereign authority in this country exists just as much in the Lublin voivodship as it does in the Opole or Szczecin voivodships, and countries maintaining diplomatic relations with Poland recognize this status in respect to the entire Polish territory. Any other attitude on this matter would stand in contravention of both theory and practice of international law.

3. Re-organizing the legality of treaties which led to the annexation of the Sudetenland and Memel by the Nazis is equally contradictory to international law as the Act of September lst, 1939, on the incorporation of the Free City of Gdańsk into the German Reich.

Ostforschung experts cling to the illusion that the German frontiers of December 31st, 1937 and September lst, 1939, established as a result of the aggressive operations launched by the Nazi Reich, and condemned throughout the world, were legal from the point of view of international law.

Czechoslovakia's cession of the Sudetenland to Germany, in implementation of the Munich Agreement, was carried out under direct pressure of the German armies concentrated on the Czech border. The German-Lithuanian Pact of March 22nd, 1939, was likewise preceded by a German ultimatum and army concentrations along the East Prussian border.

Experts in Eastern studies refuse to recollect that

during the war the signatory states of the Munich Agreement issued a declaration in which they proclaimed the Agreement as *nul et non avenu.*

In the note dispatched to Benes on June 9th, 1942, on the Munich Agreement and Czechoslovak borders, Molotov stated that "the Soviet government had nothing to do with Munich. Further, it opposed the policies which led to the Munich Agreement and, therefore, it does not recognize either the signatories' decisions on Czechoslovakia, or any other consequences of the Munich policy in the years 1938—1939. Neither does it recognize any change of the Czechoslovak border in that period. The government of the Soviet Union recognizes the pre-Munich Czechoslovak frontiers as the only legal frontier of that country."

In his note to Masaryk, in August 1942, Foreign Secretary Eden declared in the name of the British government that "in face of Germany's wilful violation of the agreements concerning Czechoslovakia reached in 1938, to which His Majesty's Government was a party, His Majesty's Government considers itself freed from all obligations in this matter. No changes, either in 1938 or later, will affect the final delineation of frontiers, to be agreed upon after the end of the war."

The Franco-Czechoslovak declaration of August 22nd, 1944 also emphasized that "the Munich Agreement and all the consequences it entailed were invalid right from the very beginning, and the Italian government's statement of September 26th, 1944 termed as "invalid and non-existent the Munich Agreement of September 29th, 1938, as well as the Ciano-Ribbentrop so-called mediatory statement issued in Vienna on November 2nd, 1938, and any other act in consequence of the Agreement or statement, which might constitute

a threat to the independence and integrity of the Republic of Czechoslovakia."

The afore-mentioned documents [34]) rendered invalid all obligations of the Munich Agreement signatory states toward Germany, which violated all its provisions entirely in 1939.

The occupation of Memel by the Nazi armies, on the strength of the German-Lithuanian agreement of March 22nd, 1939, referred to by *Ostforschung* theoreticians, was regarded by the International Tribunal as a violation of Art. 99 of the Treaty of Versailles and tried by the Nuremberg Court during proceedings against major war criminals.

The annexation of Gdańsk sanctioned by the Act of September lst, 1939, on the incorporation of the Free City of Gdańsk into the German Reich,[35]) was illegal in the same degree as the Nazi invasion of Poland which caused the outbreak of the Second World War.

West German revisionists endeavour to undermine the irreversible fact of the complete liquidation of the Prussian State by the very convenient method of not recognizing the Potsdam Agreements. This is done despite Act 46 of February 25th, 1947 on the complete liquidation of the Prussian State, issued by the Allied Control Council over Germany and endorsed by the Council of Foreign Ministers during the March 1947 session in Moscow. This Act, as well as the Potsdam Agreements, decided the Odra-Nysa line [36]) as the final border between Poland and Germany.

Whatever the efforts of *Ostforschung* theoreticians,

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[34]) *International Affairs*, No. 5 of 1961 documents quoted from work of A. D. Rotfeld.

[35]) *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I. 1947.

[36]) A. K l a f k o w s k i, op. cit., pages 149—153.

international agreements underlying European security, in which the Potsdam Agreements play a key role, sanction unreservedly the Polish boundary on the Odra and Lusatian Nysa. Any attempt to violate the existing Polish-German frontier, as settled at Potsdam, would be synonymous with upsetting the balance of power in Europe.

Chapter VI

THE PROBLEM OF EXPULSION AND LEGAL-POLITICAL CLAIMS. EXPULSION OF GERMAN POPULATION

Expulsion of the German population from the Eastern territories is defined by the West German *Ostforschung* doctrine as contrary to all principles of international law — *Völkerrechtswidrige Vertreibung.*

The main theses of this doctrine were summed up in a memorandum of the Landsmannschaft Union prepared by *Ostforschung* experts and presented at the Four Power Paris Conference of May 1960, which is referred to by leading revisionists in numerous statements at *Landsmannschaft* meetings and in press articles. Hypocritical references to principles of the Atlantic Charter attempted to qualify the removal of the German population from Eastern and South-eastern territories after the Second World War as a crime against humanity. The memorandum mentions 16 million displaced Germans of whom:

9.7 million now live in the GFR,
3.3 million now live in the GDR,
0.9 milion now live in Austria and other countries,
2.1 million are missing in the course of repatriation operations.

The memorandum states among others: "Expulsion of Germans from territories which they had inhabited

for centuries is not binding either morally, legally, or from the point of view of international law relevant to the occupied territories. Moreover, the expulsions on a mass scale began several months before the adoption of Art. 13 of the Potsdam Agreements..."

The memorandum theses reflect fully the attitudes of *Ostforschung* theoreticians. The method applied to present this problem consists in throwing false light on facts and introducing general statements on the orders of *Landsmannschaft* organizations, which attempt to earn publicity for this issue by supplying evidence of alleged wrong-doing and injustice done to the Germans after the Second World War.

A team of the *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* workers devoted much attention to this matter in Book IX of the annals,[1]) where they charge the organizers of repatriation operations with lawlessness and violation of humanitarian principles. Descriptions of fabricated incidents accompanying the expulsion of the German population make the *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* workers appeal to Christian sentiments. They do not take pains to conceal that their political intentions are to enliven the spirit of revanchism and retaliation. They unambiguously call for avenging the injustice suffered by the resettlers. Similar intentions are dominant in many other works by *Ostforschung* theoreticians.

In 1959, a peculiar encyclopedia on Poland was published by Professor W. Markert, in which he included 35 articles and treatises by top West German experts in Eastern studies (Professor Conze, Dr Roos, Professor G. Rhode, Professor Ipsen and others). The "encyclopaedia" seeks to motivate the thesis which testifies to

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[1]) *Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität zu Konigsberg/Pr., Holzner Verlag,* Würzburg 1959, Vol. IX, page 269.

the authors' substantial dose of cynism, notably, that the expulsion of the Polish population by the Nazi occupants did not differ in any way from the expulsion of the German population from territories east of the Odra and Lusatian Nysa.[2])

The problems of contemporary Poland very much absorb Dr P. H. Seraphim, whose Nazi past is no secret. As an employee of the research institute on Jewish problems in Frankfurt am Main (*Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*), Seraphim made himself known for his exceptional skill in preparing memorials on the "solution of the Jewish problem" in the spirit of Nazi ideology. Today, Seraphim appeals to the humane sentiments of mankind in his treatises on the injustice allegedly suffered by the resettled Germans. In the book *Eastern Germany and Contemporary Poland,* discussing the resettlers' problem, he indicates that out of the 9.2 million-strong pre-war population of the present Polish Western and Northern territories, six million Germans were evicted, and 3.2 of them killed (?), whereas — in his opinion — many of the killed did not perish in the course of regular war operations.[3])

The doctrine of the illegal expulsion of Germans from the East is generally presented in different versions, without any closer coordination of the cited facts between individual *Ostforschung* centres. Dr K. Borries, Professor of Modern History at Tubingen University, says that Poland and the Soviet Union evicted five million Germans. He categorically rejects the fact that the major part of the German population on the

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[2]) *Osteuropa Handbuch, Polen.* Pub. *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Osteuropaforschung, Bohlau-Verlag,* Köln-Graz, 1959.

[3]) P. H. Seraphim, *Ostdeutschland und das heutige Polen,* Braunschweig 1953.

lands east of the Odra-Nysa defected to the West before the approaching Eastern front, never to return again. Dr Borries asserts that following the Yalta decisions it was planned to remove the German population exclusively from territories which had belonged to Poland before 1939, whereas the Poles unscrupulously carried out the expulsion of German inhabitants from the whole territory up to the Odra-Nysa, immediately after the Red Army marched in.[4])

Another ridiculous thesis elaborated by the former *Göttinger Arbeitskreis* chairman, Dr H. Kraus, indicated that the Potsdam decisions were undertaken at the time when expulsion of the German population was already under way. The Powers, unable to stop those operations, sanctioned them.[5])

All the works by *Ostforschung* experts on the *Völkerrechtswidrige Vertreibung* doctrine can, in fact, be reduced to the folowing platform:

— The Potsdam Agreements contain the decision to expel the German population from Poland. In view of the fact, however, that lands east of the Odra-Nysa are a part of German territory, expulsion of Germans from those parts is contrary to international law. The Potsdam Agreements envisaged merely the evacuation of Germans from inter-war Poland's territory.
— The Western Powers did not expect the repatriation of Germans from lands east of the Odra-Nysa to go as far as it actually did.

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[4]) *Aussenpolitik* No. 1 and 2, 1956, according to Documentary Book VI of the Polish Institute of International Affairs.

[5]) H. Kraus, *Die Oder-Neisse Linie, eine völkerrechtliche Studie. Osteuropa und der Deutsche Osten. Beiträge aus Forschungsarbeiten und Vorträgen der Hochschulen des Landes Nordhein-westfalen,* Köln 1959.

— As a result of the repatriation many people were deprived of a roof over their heads and many of them perished in the course of these operations.

— Removal of the German population from the East was carried out in inhumane conditions. Pictures of "terrifying scenes" and publicity of the Polish and Czech "barbarities" attempt to associate the repatriation of Germans with the expulsion of Slavs and Jews from the Nazi-occupied countries.

The assumptions contained in this doctrine deserve to be more broadly debated here.

The repatriation carried out on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements stands in accord with international law and, as such, cannot be questioned. For the Potsdam Agreements envisaged sending back to Germany the German population and its elements remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, whereas the repatriation plan voted by the Allied Control Council on November 20th, 1945 was a more detailed expression of the Potsdam decisions on this matter. The Four Powers published those documents in consistence with their competence emanating from Germany's act of unconditional surrender.

Many initial steps were taken by the Four Powers prior to their executory decisions confirming the necessity of removing the Germans from the East. It should be recalled at this point the complaints of the above-cited K. Borries, who, in the article "The Great Powers and The German East," lamented that Churchill expressed his great satisfaction after the Teheran talks in stating that the Poles would discover a real and lasting homeland in territories between the Odra-Nysa and the Curzon line. In his address to the House of Commons on December 15th, 1944, Churchill termed

the future removal of all Germans from territories within Poland's post-war frontiers as the most satisfying and lasting settlement.

Repatriation of Germans from lands east of the Odra-Nysa is called by Borries a *fait accompli* policy in view of the fact that right after the war the Western Powers were fully aware of difficulties accompanying any attempt to remove Poles, Russians and Czechs after they had settled on territories taken over from the Germans.[6])

Also Roosevelt, in his conversation with Minister Eden on March 14th, 1943, expressed the view that "we should make some arrangement to move the Prussians out of East Prussia the same way the Greeks were moved out of Turkey after the last war, while this is a harsh procedure, it is the only way to maintain peace..." [7])

Allegations by the West German *Ostforschung* that the Western Powers had never planned the operation on the scale later carried out by the Poles, must arouse criticism in the light of published documents concerning the events which took place before and after the signing of the Potsdam Agreements.

Repatriation of the German population on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements embraced "the Germans remaining on Polish territory," hence the lands east of the Odra and Lusatian Nysa as well. This fact gives lie to the assertions spread by West German revisionists which aim at limiting the binding strength of the respective Potsdam decisions to the

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[6]) *Aussenpolitik*, Book 1—2, 1959.

[7]) R. E. Sherwood, *The White House Papers of H. Hopkins*, London 1949, II, page 708.

Germans remaining on inter-war Poland's territory only. [8])

It should be pointed out that in the first post-war years, the Germans themselves spoke out for the repatriation of the German population from territories recovered by Poland.[9]) It was an unquestioned consequence of the sense of responsibility by that part of the Germans for the terrible disasters of the last war. Today, the principle of responsibility for Nazi crimes on occupied territories is rejected by *Ostforschung* theoreticians. They attempt to prove to the whole world that as a result of the last war, the greatest injustice was done to the German nation by the mass-scale eviction of Germans from the East on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements.

According to international law, the repatriation of Germans from territories east of the Odra-Nysa emanated the necessity to remove German national minorities therefrom. Referring to Poland's territorial changes, H. Truman stated that "the territory handed over to Poland would make its population nationally more uniform." [10])

This was of paramount importance after the bitter experiences of the Nazi period. It is a well-known fact, even to *Ostforschung* theoreticians that German minorities in other countries were used by the National Socialists for their political purposes. The Nazi "fifth

[8]) This problem has still another aspect. The repatriation of Germans from the territory of entire Poland on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements is further proof indicating the final granting to Poland of lands east of the Odra and the Lusation Nysa.

[9]) H. Bernhard and F. Eberhardt, *Werdendes Europa*, 1948, page 28.

[10]) Collected Documents, Pub. Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw 1946, No 9, page 268.

column" played a significant role in pre-war espionage and subversive activities against the Polish State and was the source of numerous nationalistic disorders in the inter-war period.[11])

Repatriation cannot be regarded as the best method of settling nationalistic problems; nevertheless it should be admitted that resettlement of the German population after the Second World War was inevitable and fully justified.

After signing and publishing the Potsdam Agreements on August 2nd, 1945, the repatriation of Germans from Poland was carried out according to the general plan of removing the German population from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. This was decreed by the Allied Control Council for Germany on November 20th, 1945. The data of the Main Statistical Office of resettled Germans is as follows:[12])

in 1946 —	1,632,502	persons
in 1947 —	538,324	„
in 1948 —	42,740	„
in 1949 —	61,449	„
	2,275,015	„

A few Germans, who for various reasons expressed their desire to stay in Poland, were employed in industry and agriculture. Some of them later moved to either the German Democratic or the German Federal Republic within the framework of the family-reunifi-

[11]) R. W. Stankiewicz, *Piąta Kolumna hitlerowska w Polsce ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Pomorza,* (The Nazi Fifth Column in Poland with Particular Attention given to Pomerania), Pub. 20th anniversary of war, Poznań 1960, pages 53—85.

[12]) *Rocznik Statystyczny* (Statistical Yearbook of 1950), Warszawa 1951, page 22.

cation campaign. Besides that, a small number of Germans inhabiting the areas east of the Odra-Nysa had declared their desire to leave Poland before the Potsdam Agreements had been signed. Neither the Polish authorities nor units of the Soviet Army stationed at the time on the Recovered Territories ever stopped the Germans leaving Poland's Western and Northern territories, individually or in small groups, often travelling by means of military transport.

Most of the Germans, however, left Poland's Western and Northern territories, the Sudetenland and Memel areas well before the Soviet troops marched in. It is no secret for the theoreticians of *Ostforschung* that the Nazi authorities forced the German population to abandon their homes and march along to the West. The people were put to fright by threats and terror which allegedly awaited them from the armies approaching from the East. The leading role in this propaganda campaign was played by the police and NSDAP members. The population was evacuated in an atmosphere of panic, and force was used where propaganda proved ineffective. No exceptions were made for the old people, women and children. In this way, millions of Germans had been evacuated beyond the Odra-Nysa line before the Russian and Polish armies entered those territories.

Documents published by A. Kilnar [13]) state that according to Hitler's order of March 19th, 1945, local authorities were bound to evacuate the population and destroy everything that might have been of any value. Kilnar was right in pointing out that this order, prepared at the end of 1944, was given to the *Gauleiters*

[13]) A. Kilnar, *„Repatriacja Niemców z Ziem Zachodnich"* (Repatriation of Germans from the Western Territories), *Polityka*, No. 21 of May 27th, 1961.

and *Kreisleiters* as early as January 1945. Kilnar provided other data according to which the depopulation of Pomerania at the outset of Polish administration on that territory (although a number of Germans had already returned after the Nazi evacuation) in comparison to 1939 amounted to:

Wolin	—	31.1	per cent
Kamień	—	61.1	„ „
Gryfice	—	28.6	„ „
Kołobrzeg	—	44.2	„ „
Koszalin	—	61.0	„ „
Białogard	—	11.7	„ „
Nowogard	—	71.3	„ „
Łobez	—	61.4	„ „
Drawsko	—	60.6	„ „
Szczecinek	—	63.0	„ „
Miastko	—	55.3	„ „
Szczecin (county)	—	87.0	„ „
Szczecin (city)	—	68.7	„ „
Gryfino	—	89.6	„ „
Pyrzyce	—	68.5	„ „
Stargard	—	82.6	„ „
Choszczno	—	77.3	„ „
Wałcz	—	79.9	„ „
Trzcianka	—	74.5	„ „

The average for the northern counties was 39.6 per cent, the central counties — 66.7, and the southern — 78.5 per cent.

Depopulation of the Warmia and Masury districts was still higher in number. There, the evacuation of Germans had been started much earlier, in the period when the Soviet offensive had not yet developed its full impetus, as was the case in the liberation of Pomerania.

Many towns and villages occupied by the liberating Soviet and Polish armies were entirely deserted. Those who wanted to stay and avoided evacuation (a part of the Warmia-Masury and Silesian population, as well as German anti-fascists) formed the remaining local population at that time. For understandable reasons, it is difficult today to provide accurate figures illustrating the Nazi evacuation campaign. Neither is it possible to procure accurate data of the Germans who moved to Germany during the period after the Soviet and Polish armies had marched into territories east of the Odra-Nysa and before the repatriation, on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements, was started. No data are available also as concerns former German citizens who, having been evacuated by the Nazis from territories regained by Poland, returned to their previous place of residence after 1945—1946. This pertains mainly to those who considered themselves to be Poles and live on Polish Western and Northern territories to date.

Territories east of the Odra-Nysa, transferred to Poland on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements, were inhabited by a 8,400,000-strong population in 1939.[14]) The number of Germans removed from Poland amounted to 2,275,015, whereas 1,300,000 people were of local origin and, as such, did not come within the repatriation procedures. More than 4.5 milion Germans were evacuated from territories east of the Odra-Nysa by the withdrawing Nazi authorities. Included in this number were also those few Germans

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[14]) *„Polskie Ziemie Zachodnie i Północne. Fakty i problemy."* (Polish Western and Northern Territories, Facts and Problems.), Book I, *Wydawnictwo Zachodnie* (Western Publishers), Poznań, Warsaw 1959, page 29—30.

who voluntarily had left those lands before the repatriation was started, as they were well aware of the fact that those historical Polish territories would rejoin their mother country. This number includes also the Germans who lived in territories east of the Odra-Nysa till 1945 and who perished in the war operations and air bombings. It is no secret that the defence of Wrocław or Królewiec, which lasted for a few months in 1945, took thousands of victims among the German civilian population.

In regard to numerous statements made by revisionist activists on the basis of *Ostforschung* data concerning the wilful and illegal eviction of millions of Germans from Poland, it is worth noting that the Polish authorities deported less Germans than had been envisaged by the Potsdam Agreements. The Allied Control Council's plan of November 20th, 1945 envisaged the repatriation from Poland of 3.5 million people.

Neither does there exist any problem of mass eviction of Germans from East Prussia's Northern territory, Memel, or the Sudetenland, because the Nazis themselves evacuated nearly the whole German population therefrom; hence, the matter of German national minorities did not represent a major problem, in fact.

Here is what K. Skubiszewski [15]) wrote on this subject: "Official publications in the German Federal Republic affirm that during the last winter of the war about five million Germans left the Eastern territories and the lands incorporated into the Reich."

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[15]) K. Skubiszewski, *Wysiedlenie Niemców po II wojnie światowej* (Expulsion of Germans after the Second World War), Warszawa, 1968.

Interesting data and even higher figures can be found in the Military Operations Journal of the German Forces High Command. The Journal reports that already two weeks after the Red Army offensive was launched, 3.5 million Germans abandoned the endangered Eastern territories. In late February 1945, when the Eastern front was being stabilized on the Odra-Nysa line (except for its downstream areas and the seacoast east of Gdańsk, which were still occupied by the Germans for some time), the number of refugees (according to the above-mentioned Military Operations Journal) amounted to 8,350,000 people. This number includes, in fact, all German refugees; it is known, however, that the evacuation and exodus before the advancing Western front were negligeable. It is, therefore, almost exclusively the German refugees from the Central Eastern and South European territories and from Germany's Eastern territories that were included in this enormous number of over eight million people.

Some areas were almost completely deserted in comparison with their population in the period prior to to the Soviet offensive. Many towns numbered as few as five per cent of their former population (for example, Nysa in Silesia).

Hence, according to data provided by the German Command, it may be stated that "over seven million Germans had left Poland and Germany's Eastern provinces before the Soviet occupation and Polish administration were established on those territories."

Giving false and exaggerated data concerning persons repatriated or missing is a deliberate falsification of history and is used only by revanchist organizations in the German Federal Republic in their slanderous compaign against Poland and the other Socialist States.

In his book entitled *Truth or Conjecture?* and preceded by exhaustive studies of this issue, S. Schimitzek,[16]) referring to German sources, stated: "The list of alleged losses suffered by the civilian population in the former Eastern provinces of Germany shows a rapidly growing tendency. Different figures are mentioned to illustrate these losses: 0.8 million, 1.26 million, 1.35 million, 1.6 million, 2 million (this figure is cited by history text-books), 3 million, and even 3.2 million. Germans from Germany's former provinces east of the Odra-Nysa allegedly lost their lives or are missing in the course of repatriation operations."

Absurd argumentation by *Ostforschung* leaders often accompany those slanders. The assertions of H. Kraus about the hasty removal of Germans by the Polish authorities for the purpose of ensuring victory in the referendum in which the Polish population was to vote for the Odra-Nysa line as Poland's final frontier in the West, is the best example of such argumentation. Even if 2,275,015 Germans stayed at that time on the Polish Western and Northern territories and had voted negative in the referendum, it would not have changed the final results in view of the overwhelming majority of votes in favour of the recognition of the Odra-Nysa frontier.

Chapter XIII of the Potsdam Agreements recommended that "the repatriation be carried out in an orderly and humane manner." [17]) There is no doubt that the Polish, Soviet and Czechoslovak authorities carried out these operations in a correct manner, in accordance

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[16]) S. Schimitzek, *Przeciwko fałszerstwom* (Truth or Conjecture), Warszawa, 1968.

[17]) Quote according to E. Osmańczyk, *Germany 1945—1950*, page 15.

with the Potsdam decisions. The repatriates were provided with supplies, medical assistance and militia protection. From the point of view of international law, it is pertinent that none of the Four Powers published any reservations in this matter. On the contrary, the occupation authorities in Germany, involved in resettlement operations, often emphasized that the repatriation of the German population from the East was carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Potsdam Agreements.

A. Kilnar was right in pointing out that the repatriation of Germans directly after the war was carried out by those "whose kin had been murdered by Germans in concentration camps and Gestapo dungeons. Those people had all moral rights to hate the Germans. Nevertheless, they took no bloody revenge for the atrocities they had suffered." [18])

What is the aim of the slanders promoted in the German Federal Republic about alleged "barbarities" committed by the Poles and Czechs in the course of resettlement operations? The *Ostforschung* theoreticians seek to erase the horrible impressions left by crimes perpetrated by the Nazis during the Second World War in the occupied countries.

The "German cultural mission" in the East envisaged in its assumption, alongside other crimes, the eviction on a mass scale of Slavs and Jews for the purpose of their complete extermination. As Himmler put it in his letter of January 20th, 1943, to the State Secretary in the Reich's Ministry of Communications, Grenzenmüller: "...we face another important problem. Deportation of all guerrilla supporters and all those suspected of participation in guerrilla activity constitutes the

[18]) Ibid.

fundamental condition of establishing peace in the Government General, Białystok and Russian territories. Deportation of Jews should be carried out in the first place. The Jews should also be evicted from the West. Otherwise, we shall be faced with an increased number of sabotage activities on those territories as well. I need your help and support in this respect. If I am to settle the problem quickly, I must get more trains for transport. I am well aware of the tense situation in railway traffic and the exigencies you have to fulfill. Despite this fact I feel pressed to ask your help in committing more trains to my disposal." [19])

Despite transport difficulties, the deportation was carried out hastily.

On May 12th, 1943, a certain Greifelt, Himmler's plenipotentiary for intensified Germanization affairs, noted as follows: "The *SS Reichsführer* gave orders to carry out the deportations within the scope of existing possibilities and to speed up the resettlement of the expelled Poles elsewhere. The chief task is to remove 3.4 million Jews from the Government General." [20])

The above-cited documents, as well as many others presented to the International Tribunal in Nuremberg, are well known to *Ostforschung* theoreticians. It goes without saying that they know much more from their own observations and "scientific analyses" conducted for the use of Nazi Germany's rulers. It would be hardly conceivable that the present *Ostforschung* theoreticians, Professors G. von Mende, the late W. Markert,

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[19]) *Zbiór dokumentów. Eksterminacja Żydów na ziemiach polskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej* (Extermination of Jews on Polish Lands During the Nazi Occupation), Warszawa 1957, page 321.

[20]) Op. cit., page 329.

or O. Schiller, who, under the personal leadership of A. Rosenberg, worked as experts in Eastern affairs in the Ministry of Eastern Territories, knew nothing about the guidelines for the deportations and the manner in which they were carried out. On the contrary, within the framework of their research activities, they cooperated in the preparation and execution of these operations. During the Second World War, Professor P. H. Seraphim was not only an employee of the infamous "Institute for German Labour in the East" in Cracow, where plans for the extermination of Slavs and Jews were drawn, but he was also a lecturer on issues connected with the implementation of the plan for the final solution of the Jewish problem. This very same Seraphim, who in cooperation with Reinhard Maurach and Gerhard Wolfrumm, attempts to "prove" today the alleged lawlessness perpetrated on the German population by the Poles and Czechs who had expelled this population "contrary to the principles of international law." [21])

Displacement of the German population on the strength of the Potsdam Agreements, carried out in a lawful and orderly fashion, cannot be questioned today. Any attempt by *Ostforschung* experts to identify the repatriation of Germans with the Nazi-led deportations, constitutes one more element of the slanderous campaign conducted by the revisionist centres in the German Federal Republic.

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[21]) P. H. Seraphim, R. Maurach and G. Wolfrumm, *Ostwärts der Oder und Neisse,* Hannover 1949.

"THE RIGHT TO THE FATHERLAND" AND "THE RIGHT TO RETURN"

The right to the fatherland was officially claimed in the German Resettlers' Charter during one of the larger manifestations of displaced persons in Stuttgart on August 5th, 1950, in which officials of the German Federal government were reported to have participated. This Charter, adopted as the official programme of displaced persons' organizations in the GFR, reads as follows:

"...aware of their national character and the common mission of all European nations, the selected representatives of the millions-strong masses of expellees, having deeply considered the circumstances and following the dictates of their conscience, decided to publish this solemn statement determining the rights and duties which the German resettlers recognize as their fundamental principle and an essential condition of the creation of a Free and United Europe... forced separation of a person from his fatherland is synonymous with spiritual homicide... we feel competent to put forth this demand to the effect that the right to the fatherland be recognized as one of the fundamental rights granted humanity by God..." [22])

A broader definition of the right to the fatherland may be found in Professor Hallstein's statement made in the Bundestag on September 28th, 1956. He reaffirmed that the right to the fatherland, claimed in the German Resettlers' Charter, is recognized in its substance by the government of the German Federal Republic and as such is — in the GFR's official opinion —

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[22]) *Charta der deutschen Heimatvertriebenen,* Stuttgart, 5. VIII. 1950.

inseparably linked with the nations' right to self-determination.

Hallstein's statement was elaborated in 1957 by Professor Frauedienst, who stated that "the right to the fatherland and the right to self-determination signify for the Germans expelled from their Eastern fatherland and for those still remaining there, the possibility of returning to their homeland on the grounds of free elections, under the rule of a freely elected government, hence in conditions of a free choice — following on the proclamation of a united Germany and the delineation of the frontiers on the strength of the right to self-determination. This right should be binding for all Germans expelled from territories they had once inhabited. This pertains also to the Germans from Memel and the Sudetenland; at least, they should be given the opportunity of a plebiscite. The right to self-determination and other national rights may also be assured to the German nationalistic groups outside the former Reich. Assurance of the right to self-determination to Germans in the Soviet Zone means deciding in free elections the future government as well as the political, economic and social order in the country. It means to proclaim the reunification of Germany under a freely elected government." [23])

Numerous statements of the Bonn government officials on the so-called Eastern policy indicate that the "right to the fatherland" and specifically interpreted "right to self-determination" play a significant role in the latest stage of *Ostforschung* activities and the revisionist propaganda campaign. It is subordinated to the main goal: above all, the acquisition of legal basis for territorial claims toward Poland, Czechoslovakia and

[23]) *Vertriebenen Korrespondenz* of November 12th, 1957.

the Soviet Union by promoting the alleged "rights" to the rank of international law.

It may, however, be pointedly stated that the notion of the "right to the fatherland," non-existent in international relations, merely constitutes a revisionist political doctrine. It is unfounded from the point of view of international law. This has been distinctly admitted by Professor Laun at a session of the East German Cultural Council:

"So far we have been preoccupied with the problem of legal subjectivity. Now, we are supposed to deal with the material right to our ancestral motherland. Binding international law defines no such claim. There is no doubt about this." [24])

This is logically confirmed by the endeavours of *Ostforschung* experts to the effect that the "right to the fatherland" be recognized on an international scale.

Hallstein's reference to the GFR's internal legal instruments, such as the law of the German Federal Republic and the German Expellees' Charter, wherefrom the notion of the "right to the fatherland" is taken, cannot be taken into consideration in international relations. Worth mentioning is the fact that the German Resettlers' Charter emphasizes that the "right to the fatherland" has been conferred by God, hence it becomes a sort of a "permanent and unlosable right of divine nature." Such arguments allude to the supernatural. Introduction of metaphysics to the rights of nations carries it beyond the scientific sphere, into the world of fantasy.

Reference to the Atlantic Charter cannot be made

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[24]) Quote from R. Bierzanek, "*Volksgruppenrecht und Heimatrecht*," *Sprawy Międzynarodowe*, No. 2 of 1960, page 19.

with regard to Germany, as the "right to the fatherland" cannot be derived from the United Nations Charter, since Art. 107 of the latter clearly affirms that: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action in relation to any State, which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the government having resposibility for such action."

Also other documents such as the "Declaration of Human Rights" or "European Convention on Protecting Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties" can form no legal basis for the so-called right to the fatherland.

Frauendienst's arguments identifying the "right to the fatherland" with legal-state claims aim at the retrieval of territories east of the Odra-Nysa by the GFR, after having first absorbed the German Democratic Republic. These arguments, advanced from revanchist positions and reinforced by threats, are intended to arouse hopes for a change of the present frontiers by use of force.

Despite all theoretical motivation, the "right to the fatherland" is still an undefined term. It was discussed in the article "The Sore Point of German Policy" published by *Westfälische Rundschau* of May 24th, 1956, which stated:

"...If the right to the fatherland is to be recognized as a general human right, it may merely signify that a man has the right, whenever he desires, to return to the country where he was born, to the community of which he is descended. Therefore, it cannot be associated with legal-state claims with regard to some territory. Hence, under certain circumstances, the application of this right would mean that the Poles and Czechs should allow the Germans to return to

those territories on the condition that they prove loyal citizens with regard to the political systems prevailing in these countries. This certainly is not what the resettlers want. They have in mind the fatherland as it looked when they left it. This causes distrust of not only the Eastern, but also the Western world. That is why it seems necessary to replace the somewhat ambiguous term of 'the right to the fatherland' by a more precise definition of this concept." [25])

The "right to the fatherland" becomes ever more unrealistic and unfounded despite all attempts by *Ostforschung* theoreticians to endow this doctrine with the quality of a legal act adopted in international relations.

In some works by *Ostforschung* theoreticians the right to self-determination is associated with the concept of plebiscite. According to this concept, a plebiscite on Poland's Western and Northern territories and the Sudetenland should decide upon the state-legal adherence of those lands. It is worth taking a closer glance at the principles of such a plebiscite which, in the opinion of certain *Ostforschung* theoreticians, might lead to the application of the right to the fatherland and the right to self-determination.

These principles were even worked out by the Resettlers' Union presidium in mid-April 1959. According to them the right to vote would be given only to the German and non-German population which inhabited those territories before 1939; this right would not be extended to the non-German population which arrived in those lands after 1945.

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[25]) *„Polityka wschodnia NRF"* (The Eastern Policy of the GFR), Documentary Book No. 5 of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, compiled by M. T o m a l a, page 102.

The concept of bringing into force the "right to self-determination" by means of a plebiscite, in order to execute the "right to the fatherland" (abandoned nowadays in the German Federal Republic), was in fact something completely different. For it rejected the principle of deciding their fate and the fate of the country by local inhabitants at the time of the plebiscite. And so, the fate of the Polish Western and Northern territories would be decided in the course of a plebiscite by the Germans who had inhabited those lands before 1945 and at present live in the German Federal Republic or other countries. On the other hand, the right to express their decisions would be denied to the present inhabitants of those territories, the major part of whom were born there after 1945, hence endowed with the "right to the fatherland," even according to principles pronounced by West German revisionists.

The fact is that with each passing year the number of people born on territories taken from Germany after 1945 is diminishing. This, however, does not preclude the *Deutscher Ostdienst* from stating:

"Even if the day comes when the number of Poles born or living in our Eastern territories is larger than that of Germans at one time, the legal claims of the German Reich with regard to those lands will never expire."

The "right to the fatherland" is inheritable and never expires. Such is the thesis pronounced by revisionists, fearful lest their ideals of claims and revenge relent as a result of natural processes taking place as years pass by.

A plan for the return to territories from which the Germans were removed after the Second World War

has been drafted by Professor R. Elsner.[26]) This *Ostforschung* expert is quite positive that the Poles will have to return the territories east of the Odra-Nysa in the near future. In this connection — Elsner asserts — the German resettlers will return to their previous homeland in successive periods of time, and the Poles will, of course, be removed from there. Elsner displays quite a dose of generosity at this point. He says that not all Poles will have to be removed. Those who will remain will be guaranteed the rights of national minority and representation in parliament.

The plan of the repatriation of Poles was further elucidated by J. Czerwiński: [27]) "The so-called *Volksgruppenplan* for the repatriation of the Polish population from Poland's Western and Northern territories originated in 1962... Its details were the subject of numerous discussions of the 'Oder-Neisse Landsmannschaft Union commission'..."

Certain departments of the Bonn Foreign Office, and personally Dr G. Starke, head of the German Eastern Problems section, were engaged in these activities.

According to the plan, the population to be settled or removed was divided into four groups:

— the Germans resettled from Eastern territories;
— the Poles repatriated from lands east of the Bug River were to form the so-called "tolerated alien national group," which would be formally equalled with the first German group, and would even be

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[26]) E. Richard, *Weltrecht, Weltfrieden, Menschenrecht und die Oder-Neisse Linie. Gesamtdeutsche Ostpolitik. Deutschland, Russland, Polen.* Göttingen, page 104.

[27]) J. Czerwiński, *NRF — państwo przesiedleńców* (GFR — A Country of Resettlers), Warszawa 1968.

granted "cultural" autonomy as a "national minority";
— the Poles from Central Poland who would be deported;
— Special Group: born after 1945 (on reaching the age of maturity and political and citizen rights, they would be given the right of "option" to decide their nationality).

Many experts in Eastern studies, aware of the total unrealism of this conception, appeal that the "will of return to the fatherland" (*Rückkehrwille*) be maintained and resuscitated among the youth.[28])

E. Lemberg warns against overzealous haste that might make the youth resent the "honourable mission of return" which should be propagated without determining the means by which this return could be accomplished.[29])

Less patient K. Urbanek calls for an open war and threatens that "let there be another earthquake and the Germans will return to where their fathers and grandfathers had lived as faithful citizens of the State." [30])

Worth citing here is the opinion of the political leader and economist, Professor G. W. Strobl, who is regarded as one of the most eminent *Ostforschung* experts. Strobel's attitude expressed in his speech deliv-

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[28]) This problem is discussed in greater detail by J. Sobczak, *"Tzw. Rückkehrwille w świetle zachodnioniemieckich materiałów"* (The so-called will to return in the light of West German materials), *Przegląd Zachodni*, No. 3, 1960, pages 58—78.

[29]) E. Lemberg, *Die Ausweisung als Schicksal und Aufgabe*. Gräfelfing, München 1949.

[30]) K. Urbanek, *Das Heimkehrrecht der deutschen Ausgetriebenen — ein Anspruch des positiven Völkerrechts*, Dortmund 1959.

ered at the *Steinbacher Kreis* rally on January 3rd—5th, 1957, is based on certain assertions which should be more widely discussed when dwelling upon the *Recht auf die Rückkehr* doctrine.[31])

In the introductory part, Strobl affirmed that among the resettlers living at present in the German Federal Republic there are many of those eager to return to the lands detached from Germany as a result of the Second World War. He even said that not only resettlers but also permanent residents of West Germany are ready to move to those territories after some time. Strobl entrusts this new *Drang nach Osten* above all to the youth:

"One of our tasks, based entirely on economic foundations, is the maintenance and cultivation of spiritual ties with those territories among the younger generation which is best equipped for work (reference is made to Poland's Western and Northern territories — author). On X-Day, therefore, we will have to take 1.3 million people, in the prime age for work, from the Western and Central parts of Germany." Strobl explains that the stakes on youth are justified by the necessity of moving to the east of the Odra-Nysa "...only those who might be entirely involved in the production process. This group, however, is largely represented by older repatriates from Pomerania, Lower Silesia and East Prussia, who are most eager to return..." [32])

Actually Strobl's report would be of minor significance were it not for the conclusions he came to, warning the German nation against the "responsibility

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[31]) Documentary Book of the Polish Institute of International Affairs, No. 5, *Polityka wschodnia NRF* (Eastern Policy of the GFR), pages 250—259.

[32]) Op. cit., page 250.

towards the Western areas of German economy." Tackling "the problem of Eastern economy," he publicly posed the question whether it would be possible to deprive the production process of the labour force necessary for work in the East, without fear that this might cause economic repercussions.

According to Strobl, a solution of this problem could be achieved by the employment of Italian workers(?) in German industry and agriculture. He admits, however, that the problem is not an easy one in view of difficulties accompanying the import of an adequate labour force from abroad. It is further complicated by the fact that the German Federal Republic has an urgent need for 45 thousand engineers, a trend which continues to be on the upswing. In this way, the labour-force deficit is growing with each passing year and affects even the strictly "internal" needs of the West German economy.[33])

In conclusion, Strobl, an advocate of West German revisionism, indirectly provides one more proof of the unrealism of the doctrine which continuously influences a part of *Ostforschung* experts.

The assimilation process among the resettled population is getting more and more advanced, and the doctrines *Recht auf die Heimat* and *Recht auf die Rückkehr* generate less and less interest.

Young Germans easily adapt themselves to the new environment. The number of mixed marriages increases, new generations are being brought up in the German Federal Republic, but the *Landsmannschaft* organizations continuously remind of the "right to the father-

[33]) Documentary Book of the Polish Institute of International Affairs. No. 5. *Polityka wschodnia NRF* (Eastern Policy of the GFR), page 255.

land" and endeavour to stimulate "the will to return" (*Rückkehrwille*) by promises of alleged benefits to the Germans.

The doctrine of "the right o return" generates much interest among former owners of large land estates and industrial establishments on territories east of the Odra-Nysa. They constitute a relatively small group of resettlers. For sentimental reasons, this doctrine is warmly received among the older generation which, as a result of natural processes, is getting less numerous each year.

The *Recht auf die Rückkehr* doctrine, which mainly served to enliven the resettlers' sentiments and was an important element of revanchist policy, becomes with time ever less convincing even among the resettlers themselves, because of its evident lack of realism.

Chapter VII

IN SEARCH OF NEW CONCEPTS

The theories discussed in previous chapters in illustration of West German revisionist claims and intentions mainly concerned the fifties. This was the period of "cold war" directed against the Socialist countries at the instigation of the United States. "Liberation" of the Socialist countries in Europe became the motto of American foreign policy, directed at the time by Secretary of State J. Foster Dulles, followed by the doctrine of "pushing" Socialism back to the frontiers of the Soviet Union. In actual fact, both those doctrines had the one and same object, namely abolishment of the Socialist system in the East European countries and to place them within the orbit of capitalist countries. These cold-war concepts, initiated by the USA, permitted West German revisionist theories and practice to foster hopes of a rapid materialization of their dreams of a return to the former frontiers. With this purpose at heart, they spared no effort to provide formal legal, political, historical and moral justification of their revisionist claims. They did everything in their power to convince world public opinion of the "terrible wrongs" allegedly suffered by the Germans from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Socialist countries, for "uncommitted crimes."

As years went by, not only did the West's policy "from positions of strength" fail to achieve the expected results, but it actually tended to turn increasingly against its supporters and in particular against the United States and the German Federal Republic. The ineffective nature of this policy was gradually brought home to American politicians. The result was that critical voices demanding a change of the existing line of policy appeared in the USA for the first time toward the end of the fifties. In 1960 Senator John F. Kennedy entered the electoral campaign with concepts of an entirely new policy toward the Socialist countries, namely the concept of the peaceful "softening up" of Socialism.

This new strategy demanded rejection of old formulas and introduction of new methods and slogans and a new political language. Scientific advisers with whom President Kennedy surrounded himself prepared the new principles of transferring over from a "cold war" policy to one of "softening up." This, in fact, spelled the beginning of psychological warfare.

Hence, there was increasing talk of "peaceful commitment" and after President Kennedy's assassination, of President Johnson's policy of "building bridges" and of the "convergence" theory, etc.

This new strategy and tactics of the American Administration was bound to create an echo among the theoreticians and practitioners of Bonn policy toward the Socialist countries. Although Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's policy endeavoured to continue cold war traditions and stubbornly upheld the former positions, his successor, Ludwik Erhard, lacking Adenauer's political authority, contracted increasing difficulties by continuing a policy based on sterile formulas. He met with increasingly less understanding among his allies

in the West and within his own party. In 1966 he was finally forced to resign his office.

In the GFR the ripening of new tactical concepts was partly expressed in the opinions of certain theoretical experts of Bonn's Eastern policy. These processes have always been of a complex nature. Just as is the practice among certain politicians, some scholars do their best to retain former cold war positions, whereas others have toned down their opinions on the "right to the fatherland" and are increasingly insisting on a united Europe and on "their sincere desire to reach an understanding with the peoples of Eastern Europe." There are some West German academic workers who have drawn their own conclusions from the mistaken theories of the *Drang nach Osten* policy and firmly insist on a sincere abandonment of this false trend in favour of a realistic policy of peaceful co-existence with other nations. Unfortunately, they are only singular individuals and lack organization. As a result, they have no significant influence.

Parallel with the rather sporadic and uncoordinated political protests on the part of progressive social elements against the revisionist policy of successive Bonn governments, we are also witnessing the increasing strength of extreme right-wing forces. In scientific research as well there are also only few scholars whose publications endeavour to demonstrate the harm Bonn's policy causes Germany, both now and in the future. The vast majority of "Eastern study" experts either persist in their present policy or admit the need for a change of tactics only to achieve all the greater effectiveness in continuing the same old imperialist aims. In fact, it is the American politicians and "Sovietologists" who are andeavouring to convince the West German politicians and theoreticians to change their abso-

lute political methods. Of course, they only do this in the interests of American policy, which hopes to subject the Bonn theories and practice to their own new concepts.

In his book *Alternative to Partition,*[1]) Professor Z. Brzeziński, adviser on American Eastern policy, subjected Bonn's Eastern policy to a general criticism. His reasoning goes more or less as follows. West Germany's principal aim is the unification of the country to be achieved by the liquidation of the GDR. However, Bonn policy seems to be doing everything in its power to render the achievement of this goal more difficult. Surely it is obvious that the liquidation of the GDR, as planned by the GFR, requires the acquiescence of the Soviet Union, Poland and the other Socialist countries. In the meantime, both the Adenauer and Erhard governments conducted a revisionist policy, thereby stiffening the attitude of the Socialist countries on the division of Germany. Refusal to recognize the Odra-Nysa frontier by the GFR serves the purposes of the Communist leaders in Poland and the Soviet Union more than the interests of West Germany. In fact, these leaders make use of German territorial claims to spread fear of West German revisionist and revanchist policy among their people... "It does not lie in the interests of the Polish government to arrive at any basic understanding with Germany" (West Germany — author's note).

"The Poles have increasingly less interest in Western guarantees, and see a safeguard of their frontiers in the existence of two separate German States. German policy should make every effort to break down the

[1]) Z. Brzeziński, *Alternative to Partition,* Polonia Book Fund, London, 1966.

Poles' conviction that Germany's continued division rests in their interest. It should also endeavour to create an atmosphere of mutual sympathy and a desire for cooperation." With this end in mind Brzeziński calls on the GFR "solemnly to abandon all claims to the territories lost as a result of the Second World War," and connects this call with the problem of Germany's reunfication.[2])

According to Professor Brzeziński, the existence of the GDR represents only a conditional value for the East European countries, as a bastion separating them from aggressive West Germany. Those countries, particularly Poland, will be committed to defending the GDR's existence as long as their fear of West German revisionism prevails. But once they are convinced that the GFR represents no threat to them, the GDR will lose its significance and they will willingly abandon this partner, particularly in return for specific material benefits which the GFR should not grudge them.

Hence, for the time being Brzeziński recommends a policy of "building bridges" with the East European countries and isolating the GDR. This would be followed by the loosening of relations between the Socialist countries and the USSR, and finally the softening up of Communism within the Soviet Union itself. West German scholars and politicians sustained many more such admonitions, in both published and unpublished form, not only from their American friends but also from other Western allies, particularly in a most concrete form from General De Gaulle.

Such advice and admonitions are not without some influence on certain West German politicians and "Sovietologists." Nevertheless, anybody expecting them to

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[2]) Op. cit.

accept those American and French suggestions without opposition and reservations would be grossly mistaken. They are more inclined to search for a road of their own and at times construct neck-breaking concepts with the sole purpose of avoiding the recognition of the status quo in Europe. The political concepts of such a typical expert on Eastern affairs as Professor K. Mehnert may serve as an example. But first just a few words about him. In his latest book *Der Deutsche Standort* (Germany's Position)[3]) Mehnert tells that he was born in 1906 in Moscow and brought up in a German nationalist atmosphere. Just before the outbreak of war, in the summer of 1914, Mehnert's father left Moscow for Germany to "fight for the Kaiser and fatherland should war break out" and a few weeks later Mehnert's mother also returned to Germany, taking her son with her. "The war, his father's soldier's death in Flanders, then Versailles, all this made an ardent patriot of the boy...," he "nailed the text of the Versailles Treaty to the wall above his bed with his dagger, as a constant reminder..."

He spent a considerable part of his life abroad. The book's publishers tell that he spent fifteen years in the Soviet Union, America and China and that his travels took him nine times round the world. "Like millions of other Germans, my feelings were inclined toward nationalism, against the Treaty of Versailles and reparations." He did not join the NSDAP, amongst others because he felt shocked by its "hysteria, its muddle-headedness, its irrational fanaticism, by Hitler's shameful anti-Semitism" and Hitler's negative attitude toward the Soviet Union, whose system "I considered

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[3]) K. Mehnert, *Der deutsche Standort, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt* Stuttgart, 1967.

impressive but also oppressively ponderous and unsuitable for Germany, but whose people I nevertheless understood and loved."

Mehnert even had certain political problems when the Gestapo suspected him of being a Nazi opponent, but despite this he was appointed press correspondent to the Soviet Union. Then, he went to America as professor of political sciences and modern history. The year 1937 found him in Honolulu, where cloaked in professor's robes, he was engaged in espionage against the United States, on behalf of Japan and Nazi Germany. Information supplied by him helped the success of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. During the war he was active in Shanghai, a centre of espionage at the time, and was deported to Germany after the war.[4]) On his return to Germany, he was appointed chief editor of *Christ und Welt* (until 1954) and subsequently chief editor of the periodical *Osteuropa*, organ of the German Society of East European Knowledge. He was also Secretary General of that Society, which, let it be recalled, is *Ostforschung's* principle coordinating organ.

In this same book, Professor K. Mehnert outlined a concept of European unity, which in his opinion would guarantee a satisfactory solution of the German problem. According to this concept, the United States of Europe would comprise the whole of the continent, except the USSR. He justified those frontiers of a United Europe by the following argumentation:

"From the historical point of view, the USA and

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[4]) Information on Mehnert's espionage activities is supplied by F. H. Gentzen and E. Wolfgramm, op. cit., referring to the book by E. M. Zacharias, *Secret Missions — The Story of an Intelligence Officer.*

USSR occupy a similar position in respect to Old Europe, as countries which were first settled by Europeans and had originated from Europe. The only difference was that the citizens of one crossed the Urals, whereas the others sailed across the Atlantic. Both subjected the indigenous population, and if they did not actually destroy them, they at any rate integrated them into their respective state. Just as San Francisco and Alaska provided an outlet for the overflow of Western populations, Vladivostok and the Kamchatka played the same role for the populations of the East.

The Europeans certainly have no desire for any reversal of this historical process. Rather, it lies in their interests for Russia to reach out to the Pacific, for another twenty years (author's emphasis) while the Urals remain an insignificant mountain terrain on the boundless planes of the Soviet Union, naturally with the provision that the Soviet Union does not form part of Europe proper any more than America. Only a strong Russia can successfully contain China within her borders. No European can possibly be reconciled to the idea of Europe stopping on this side of the iron curtain (author's note). Helsinki and Gdańsk, Warsaw, Cracow, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia, Athens and Trieste are just as much part of Europe as Upsala and Dublin, Lisbon and Naples, (in actual fact so is Królewiec, Tallinn, Riga and Lvov), but we are unable to shift the State border of the Soviet Union. It may be accepted that the Soviet Union will never consent that Eastern Europe under its domination should join in a European federation with non-Communist countries, but there is no necessity to exclude such a possibility right from the outset."

Mehnert asks the question whether the East European countries would consent to form part of a Europe

thus united and answers with the statement that they are only waiting for such an opportunity. Although he seems to understand that the nations of Europe harbour a fear of certain features of the German national character, of German dynamism which "produced both Hitler's Auschwitz and Goethe's Weimar" but he endeavours to convince us that "as a greater part of the United States of Europe, the Germans would find it easier to achieve internal balance (of their characteristic features — author's note) which is both necessary to them and desired by their neighbours." Mehnert takes the opportunity to spare no complements and praise under the address of the East European countries and promises that Warsaw, Budapest and Bucharest "in a United Europe would become a Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian Paris, instead of being a copy of Mińsk, which is what they are at present."

After such tempting proposals and blandishments, in the concluding chapter Professor Mehnert proves himself a brazen chauvinist of repulsive impudence, one of those repeatedly encountered by many generations of Poles across the path of their history.

Here is something else he has to say to the Poles:

"In your great majority, you, Poles, desire a United States of Europe, just as we do. If at some specific time this is brought about with your assistance and membership, frontiers would lose their significance and our claims to German territories east of the Odra and Nysa would be abandoned, claims which you refuse to recognize, but which nevertheless are a thorn in your side. The resultant consequences would be difficult for us to bear, above all for the millions of Germans who consider this land their fatherland. But within a Europe where you would be living together with us as citi-

zens of Europe, many matters would acquire a different aspect than at present.

"If, however, you refuse to join a United Europe and insist on the continued existence of two Europes and two Germanys, you cannot expect any guarantees of your frontiers from us, frontiers, which in view of your thesis on the existence of two German States would be no concern of ours...

"Only a united Germany could guarantee and in my opinion (author's emphasis) would be willing to guarantee the Odra-Nysa frontier... Reflect upon this, but not too long. Now may be a better time for such an agreement than perhaps in another ten years. Your national poet, Adam Mickiewicz, writing about the period of the Partitions, thus formulated your national aspirations:

> *"For a general war of freedom for the peoples,*
> *We beseech Thee, oh Lord!*
> *For weapons and our national Eagles*
> *We beg Thee, oh Lord...*
> *For independence, unity and our Country's freedom,*
> *We beseech Thee, oh Lord*
> *In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost — Amen."*

This is what Professor K. Mehnert, one of the most typical experts on Eastern Affairs has to tell us. What else could be added? Nothing. Everything is made plain and clear: "We, Germans, ask you to reflect, but be quick about it" (*schnell, schnell*!) because if not, then... in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost... *Gott mit uns*; etc."

We are too familiar with this tune and those words.

Too familiar, in fact, to make any comment necessary. It may be doubted, however, whether Professor Mehnert's methods of argumentation are pleasing to Professor Brzeziński or Chancellor Kiesinger himself.

Franz Jozef Strauss, on the other hand, a politician and future "strong-arm Chancellor" *in spe*, makes full use of Professor Mehnert's [5]) argumentation in his programme of a political union of Europe stretching up to the Western borders of the USSR.[6]) According to Strauss, following the annexation of the GDR, Germany would become an economic giant, dominating over the other European countries and becoming a third super-world-power. Thus: *Neuordung Europas*, or in other words *Pax Germanica* in Europe.

Entering upon a hypocritical discussion of the existing balance of power in Europe and in the world, Strauss suggests the creation of a European nuclear force as an essential factor of Europe's political emancipation from the United States and the Soviet Union. He also advises that opportunity should be taken of the Sino-Soviet conflict to forward the GFR's great-power ambitions and says literally: "On the one hand, the attitude taken by the Chinese People's Republic toward the Soviet Union, in my opinion, strengthens our political offensive and adds significant political arguments to our laboriously constructed reasoning against the allegedly realistic political trend in favour of recognizing the existing status quo. On the other hand, I consider that due, among others, to this afore-

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[5]) F. J. Strauss discusses his programme in the following books: *Entwurf für Europa*, Stuttgart, 1955 and *Herausforderung und Antwort*, Stuttgart, 1968.

[6]) Compare with J. Szłapczyński's *"Nie tylko Strauss"* (Not Only Strauss), *Prawo i Życie*, No. 13 of June 29th, 1969.

said Sino-Soviet conflict, we shall win an opportunity for a political offensive, when Europe, as a result of the parallel nature of her basic long-term interests, has become united and therefore sufficiently strong to abandon her passive role of intruder and becomes an active factor of policy." [7])

Strauss intends to open proceedings in favour of a United Europe by strengthening existing West German organizations, conducting a common EEC trade policy toward the European Socialist countries aimed at forcing them to loosen their ties with the USSR and to draw them gradually into the arms of the capitalist West. Strauss terms future prospects of a United Europe and a strong, independent Germany, a "stabilizing factor of world policy." He makes no secret as to which European countries would be involved in any future process of European unification, and states that "Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania are just as much a part of Europe as Switzerland, Holland or Belgium. The point is that by exerting influence on those countries and by firm negotiations with Moscow, we should achieve this solution by a long-term process which would turn the Eastern Bloc countries into a component part of Europe." [8])

Strauss does not consider the Soviet Union as a part of Europe. So as to avoid accusations of ignoring basic truths recognized throughout the world, he explains his position in the following manner: "...in a geographical, cultural and historical sense, Europe may stretch from the Atlantic to the Urals, but to anyone willing to consider also the historical changes in the

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[7]) F. J. Strauss, *Herausforderung und Antwort*, op. cit., page 112.

[8]) Ibid., pages 123—124.

course of the current century, Europe as a political idea and a political entity, cannot be said to extend beyond the Western frontiers of the Soviet Union. In addition, the USSR, as partly an Asiatic power, represents such overwhelming power, that quite apart from the problem of its political system and ideological aims, a European community of which it were to form part could never be achieved." [9])

By what methods does Strauss propose to win Socialist countries over to the concept of a Europe, united in accordance with his doctrines? "The West should only give support to those projects which serve the formation of internal ties between the divided parts of Europe, and not the strengthening of the East European economic system." He goes on to explain: "It would be of great importance for the EEC countries, which are already under obligation to prepare a common trade policy by 1970, to give priority to a common trade policy with the East. In the first place, one should begin by agreeing on a credits policy. In that event our Eastern neighbours would be forced to recognize the EEC as a trading partner. This would have a favourable psychological effect, particularly in those East European countries which show willingness to enter into closer contacts with the West." [10])

At some more distant future, the German Democratic Republic would be absorbed with the help of the same methods. Strauss makes no secret of this: "Germany's reunification will only become a reality, when thanks to its economic development, Western Europe acquires such power of attraction that it can extend its influence to the East European countries and be-

[9]) Ibid., pages 126—127.

[10]) Ibid., page 122.

comes the centre of gravity." In such a situation, Strauss adds, the GDR "would simply become an obsolete remnant of a forgotten period." [11])

Strauss's reasoning provides an outline of the long-term programme by which the GFR's Eastern neighbours are to be attracted "closer to Europe." He is greatly committed to the following solution: by exerting influence on Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania and through negotiations with the Soviet Union, to achieve conditions whereby the Socialist countries, with the exception of the USSR, would become a component part of a United Europe.

Professor E. Lemberg, another expert on Eastern affairs, seems to have a better understanding of the political aims of the various Brzezińskis and Kiesingers. The following information about him may be found in the Brown Book published in 1965 in the GDR: [12]) "Prior to 1945 a leading National Socialist pedagogue and 'expert on border problems' in the Sudeten German area. Collaborated with various Sudeten German National Socialist periodicals. Member of the Sudeten German *Freikorps — der Henlein SS*, director of the fascist establishment for the education of school teachers in Reichenberg. After 1945 worked in education and plays a leading role in West Germany in disseminating revanchist influence among the youth, currently chairman of the J. G. Herder Research Council. Co-publisher and author of articles in the periodical *Ostkunde im Unterricht*."

Professor E. Lemberg published a political essay

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[11]) Ibid., page 147.

[12]) *Braunbuch — Kriegs- und Naziverbrecher in der Bundesrepublik*, Berlin, 1965.

"East-Central Europe's Answer to Sovietization" [13]) in which he voices no threats against us. His principle purpose is to point out the forces existing in the Socialist countries, which, in his opinion, may be counted on. These are the intellectuals and students and, above all, philosophers engaged in various revisions of Marxist concepts. This is what he advises: "We would do well to treat all these internal developments among Marxists and their fellow travellers (in the original: *Rand marxistische Entwicklung* — author's note) with all seriousness, if only because we too find ourselves in continuous movement and the existence of parallel ideological processes here and there, to say nothing of a certain convergence between them, cannot be denied."

Lemberg holds the opinion that revisionist processes in the Communist movement first began in Poland and Hungary in 1956.

He points to the attitude of Czech philosophers, in particular to those round the "famous Kafka Conference in Liblice near Prague in 1963" and representing "progressive" opinions. As an example, Lemberg quotes E. Goldstücker's attitude in demanding an entirely new relationship with the Western, non-Socialist world.

It must be admitted that E. Lemberg is extremely well informed as to what sort of people West German revisionist policy may rely on in Poland and Czechoslovakia. He also quotes similar examples in Hungary and Yugoslavia and even in the GDR, and affirms that revisionism also finds nourishment among Communist parties in Western countries, for instance, in Italy and France. In fact, revisionism may be relied on. All the

[13]) *Die Deutschen und ihre östlichen Nachbarn*, Stuttgart, 1967.

more so, since its development is not confined to philosophy. Lemberg affirms that "its extraordinary parallel development in various domains of intellectual life, such as historical awareness, poetry, art and education, does prove that this is not just an ordinary philosophical argument between professors, but a marked trend in the entire spiritual life..." Hence, Lemberg now supports the American concept of disrupting the Socialist countries from within, by "softening" them with the help of revisionists. Should this concept prove successful, there would be no difficulty in talking with the Poles and Czechs, for instance, on the subject of frontiers.

K. Mehnert sees the best solution of West German claims in the concept of a United States of Europe, in which a "united" Germany, with a population of 75 million, would shortly achieve a "new European order." Lemberg advises, above all, "softening up" the Socialist countries. While W. Brundert's advice is to obtain the support of Western Europe for Germany's "reunification" in the first place. He sees the problem as follows:

1. Explain to European countries that no guarantee of peace in Europe will be possible, as long as a centre of political tension exists in Germany.
2. Explain convincingly to the world at large that as a consequence of its recent tragic historical experiences, Germany is aware of her responsibility and aims at peace and safeguarding democracy and, therefore, requires support for her demands of recognition of her right to self-determination.
3. Convince the countries of the Western World, in particular, that a realistic and diplomatic solution of the German problem would be all the more readily achieved if representatives of the Soviet zone

of occupation were made to realize that demands of the Federal government for self-determination, aimed at strengthening and safeguarding democracy and peace, had the moral and political support of Europe and the Western World.

The last concept would be attained with all the greater certainty were Western Europe to follow the lead of the Federal Republic in this matter. Our assessment of European unity and of German efforts at reunification is based on the understanding that those two matters represent one and the same problem.[14])

Freiherr K. zu Guttenberg approaches this problem in the following manner: "Germany is divided because Europe is divided, and Europe remains divided because Germany remains divided. In other words: Germany has lost its central area (meaning the GDR — author's note) hence for the time being no centre of Europe exists." Hence, it must be created. The problem of Germany must be made a European problem ("Europeanization of the German problem") and opportunities opening to Bonn policy in Eastern Europe must also be taken advantage of.

"Experiences have proved the need for constantly increasing cultural exchanges and meetings; political use must be made of economic processes, even given the non-existence of full diplomatic relations, without necessarily awakening Moscow's suspicions." [15]) Baron zu Guttenberg never pauses to reflect on the reasons why even the GFR's Western allies have never shown

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[14]) W. Brundert, *"Gedanken zum Thema Deutsche Wiedervereinigung und europäische Mitte"* from a collective work *Die Deutschen und ihre östlichen Nachbarn,* Cologne 1967.

[15]) K. T. zu Guttenberg, *Deutsche Wiedervereinigung und europäische Mitte,* (as reference note 8), Cologne, 1967.

any eagerness to support West Germany's great-power ambitions. Europe knows all too well what this would signify in actual practice.

Some theoreticians in West Germany also realize this. For instance, in his book *An Ulbricht führt kein Weg mehr vorbei* (No Solution Can Leave Out Ulbricht), E. Schulz declares:

"The attitude taken by the victorious powers may have been extremely divergent in matters of detail, but they were quite certainly agreed on one thing, namely that the existence of the German State as the greatest power in Central Europe should never be permitted again. German ambitions should never again be allowed to endanger the interests of her neigbours." [16])

Schulz's advice is to look truth straight in the face:

"After the war, we Germans began from take assumption that reconstruction of our national unity was self-evident, that let us say it would result from a natural necessity, within a very short period of time. This belief in the natural necessity of such reconstruction was due to a lack of imagination and forgetfulness of certain historical facts. As long as four hundred years ago Luxembourg was excluded from the community of German States to become a fully sovereign State. Nobody would now consider reuniting this State with Germany. The same is true of Austria, which after the downfall of the Danubian monarchy, was specifically forbidden to join the Weimar Republic. This once smarting wound has now healed. Will the same be true of the territories on the opposite bank of the Elbe, in another hundred years time?"

H. Rasch, in his book *Die Bundesrepublik und Ost-*

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[16]) E. Schulz, *An Ulbricht führt kein Weg mehr vorbei*, Hamburg, 1967.

europa [17]) declares outright: "Recognition of the Odra-Nysa frontier and recognition of the GDR as a separate entity in the understanding of international law... are essential conditions of any future sensible policy." Unfortunately, as we have already had repeated occasion to stress, the voice of common sense is as rare among West German theoreticians as among their politicians. Such voices are rejected with indignation by a decisive majority of German scholars and politicians as an "unworthy abandonment" of the age-long aims of German nationalism. Rejection of any solution which entails recognition of the existing status quo in Europe forms a bond between the government rulers and leading theoreticians on Eastern affairs. But negation of the existing status quo is not a political programme. Presentation of a constructive programme to abolish the existing status quo creates considerable difficulties both for theoreticians and the Bonn government as such.

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[17]) H. Rasch, *Die Bundesrepublik und Osteuropa,* Cologne 1965.

Chapter VIII

THE NEW EASTERN POLICY

In line with former legal and political concepts and revisionist claims with regard to the Socialist countries, the Coalition government of the CDU/CSU-SPD in 1965—1969 proclaimed a "new Eastern policy" (*Neue Ostpolitik*), of which the principal aim was supposed to be a new order of peace in Europe. In answer to the question of what the GFR really meant by the term a "new Eastern policy," it might be said in brief: new words signifying an identical course of policy as conducted by former governments.

Official GFR government statements, in particular those by Chancellor Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Brandt, contained many firm assurances of good will on the part of the GFR to contribute to a political detente and create a just and lasting order in Europe.

But, once you go beyond generalities, you will have no difficulty in deciphering the same old revisionist programme.

Let us consider certain extracts taken from Chancellor Kiesinger's Bundestag speech of December 13th, 1966:

"Every nation lives in the hope that peace will be preserved, and as for the Germans this same desire is no less pronounced than by other nations. Hence, the desire for peace and understanding between nations constitutes the first and foremost aim of this govern-

ment's foreign policy..." "The German government is consistently for an effective policy of peace, which would overcome all tensions and bring to a halt the armament race."

And now an extract from a declaration on the GFR attitude toward Poland:

"The broad strata of the German nation nurture an intense desire to arrive at reconciliation with Poland. The history of that country is permeated with sufferings which we have not forgotten. Their desire to live at long last within a united territory with guaranted State frontiers, we can understand all the better now that division has become the lot of our own nation."

It might seem that at long last the GFR policy of 1965—1969 was based on concepts of a peaceful order which emerged as a result of the Second World War that had been unleashed by the Germans. But Chancellor Kiesinger himself dispelled this entirely false impression by stating that: "... frontiers of a reunited German can only be established on the basis of a freely reached agreement with an all-German government, under conditions which would guarantee lasting, peaceful and good-neighbourly relations approved by both nations." In other words: first, "reunification" of Germany, or to put it more precisely, incorporation of the GDR (by the GFR), and only then can we continue talks. In the meantime, Kiesinger stated "the Federal government considers itself to be the sole German government to represent Germany, freely elected in accordance with legal requisites and the principles of democracy, and therefore empowered to speak on behalf of the whole German nation."

Speaking at the opening ceremony of the XIX-th Crafts Congress in Munich only a few months later, Kiesinger explained what should be understood by the

German policy of detente, namely that "whoever thinks the existing status quo must be upheld, and that Germany's and Europe's division may be overcome by accident and in accordance with legal principles of democracy, has obviously understood nothing of our policy of detente."

In an interview granted to *Der Spiegel* on March 20th, 1967, Kiesinger declared with absolute clarity: "In fact, we intend to abolish the existing status quo."

The former Minister for Resettlers' Affairs, and now head of the Bundestag, von Hassel, was even more emphatic on this subject in a speech delivered at a meeting organized in Berlin on September lst, 1967, in celebration of the "Native Parts Day":

"Two twin sisters combine to form the problem of reunification: the right to the fatherland and the right to self-determination. Both are an essential condition in solving the future of people and nations now living in exile and deprived of their freedom, and both form part of the inviolable rights of man."

In a speech made at a press conference on November 3rd, 1967, Kiesinger may be said to have put the proverbial dot over the "i," by saying: "Our new method of approach to the Poles and the problem of recognizing the Odra-Nysa frontier are two different matters."

In short, detente and a peaceful order according to the new Bonn prescription was to be attained only on condition of changing the existing status quo in Europe. Hence, the "concept of a new Eastern policy" was to mean that everything could be achieved with the help of fine words and charming smiles, without giving up anything contained in the claims of former governments. Naturally, words and smiles cost nothing, hence one may well be generous in tossing them a-

round. If Poland refused to be seducted by illusory verbal declarations of a desire for a peaceful settlement of relations, and demanded recognition of the German Democratic Republic by the GFR, her attitude was termed detrimental to the cause of peace, of a peace founded on principles of West German revisionism.

As a rule, these GFR attempts to discriminate against Poland's position were not accompanied by success on a broader international arena. Political subversion, which in fact lay at the basis of the "new Eastern policy," had no chance of attaining success, but nevertheless it could not be ignored.

In conformance with West German plans based on the "new" policy, diplomatic relations were to be opened with three Socialist countries to begin with, namely with Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Successful implementation of this plan was to lead to the isolation of the GDR and weaken the position of Poland. The West German government failed to score full success with this plan. It had to rest satisfied with partial success only, namely with diplomatic relations with Rumania, whose government, in accordance with the GFR appraisal of February 1967, "posed no conditions *a priori* for opening diplomatic relations, and what is most important, demanded no prior recognition of either the Odra-Nysa frontier or the regime in East Berlin, and no renunciation of nuclear weapons."

The other Socialist countries concerned replied in 1967 with:

— the conference of European Socialist Countries' Foreign Ministers, held in Warsaw in February 1967;
— bilateral treaties between the GDR and PPR, the GDR and CSSR, the GDR and Bulgaria;
— the conference in Karlovy Vary in April 1967.

Concurrently, the VII-th SED Congress (April

17th—22nd, 1967) pronouced the thesis of "the gradual formation of the GDR nation."

As a result of this counter-action by the Socialist countries the process of implementing GFR Eastern policy was halted with Rumania, and sharp controversies emerged within the GFR government coalition on the future prospects of this policy. It was appraised that the noisy proclamation of the success achieved in Rumania by GFR propaganda had been a mistake, since it mobilized the other Socialist countries to take counter-measures. In the future, efforts must rather be concentrated on "under surface" action and avoidance of loud publicity.

In the nearest future, the Bonn government envisaged the main directions of action as: general action aimed at undermining resolutions of the Warsaw and Karlovy Vary conferences, and a change of tactics toward the GDR. Since the policy of isolating the GDR from our camp was not successful (the purpose of such isolation was meant to create convenient conditions for the incorporation of the GDR by the GFR), efforts were made to "fill in the gap," which separates the GFR and GDR. Hope is maintained that when there comes a change in the present leadership of the GDR, an all-German rapprochement would be achieved within the framework of which the factor of German community, based on the potential of 75 million Germans, and possibly retaining certain differences in state systems, would become dominant and render good returns. This sort of a state-nation organism might achieve a monopolistic position in the economy of both East and West Germany.

— offering economic assistance, on convenient conditions, in domains in which the GDR encounters greatest difficulties;

— readiness to create facilities for the GDR to enter into economic contacts with the EEC, in the form of "inter-zone trade," by-passing customs' barriers enforced with respect to other Socialist countries;
— readiness to pay off certain debts which the GDR had demanded;
— consistent change of the political climate and language with respect to the GDR;
— take up initiatives with regard to the GDR to open a political dialogue, without concern for immediate results, but with the hope of forcing West German concepts of Germany's national unification upon the GDR community.

Bonn's courting of the GDR did not mean that the intentions to isolate the GDR also from the Third World countries had been abandoned. It must be assumed that in future the GFR policy toward the GDR will comprise two contending variants, namely rapprochement and isolation, to be applied depending on the way the situation develops and in conformance with GFR tactical aims.

"Our achievements would seem to provide sufficient reason to open the next stage in our efforts to win over Eastern Europe," wrote A. von Schack in his article "*Zum nächsten Abschnitt deutscher Ostpolitik*" published in *Aussenpolitik* on February 2nd, 1968, and added that "we must realize that real difficulties are only just beginning." He was not mistaken.

In fact, the GFR policy toward the Socialist countries is full of internal contradictions. Their alleged desire to establish peaceful relations with the Socialist countries stands in obvious contradition with the encouragement of revisionist and anti-Communist trends in West Germany society. How can you believe in the sincerity of intentions of the "new Eastern policy"

when you compare the declarations full of fine phrases with the facts which provide a better characteristic of the real essence of this policy than words. Here we have the GFR as the only state in Europe giving unreserved support to the brutal US aggression in Vietnam. In giving this support they seem to forget all about self-determination and the right to the fatherland. Apparently such rights are reserved only for the Germans. Violation of all human norms of behaviour with respect to the Negro population in the USA also leaves the GFR government unconcerned. The Bonn government granted decisive support to the Israeli agrression against the Arab countries, and continues to entertain idyllic relations of entente cordiale with the aggressor's government. Bonn "advocates of peace, freedom and self-determination" and for other lofty human principles, remain unconcerned by the fate of the Arab population, deprived of fundamental human rights on the territories occupied by the reactionnary and racist Israeli government. In fact, the Bonn government talks in many different languages. One type is used when applying to the Socialist countries, another when dealing with the revisionist *Landsmannschaft* organizations which they support financially, and still another one in relation to world public opinion.

The Bonn government is financing revisionists and grants hospitality to every sort of political renegade and traitor who flees from the Socialist countries. They assist and finance their subversive activities and, at the same time, stifle any progressive movement in that country, using brutal police methods against them.

The Bonn government forced the long prepared emergency legislation through the Bundestag and Bun-

desratt. This step taken by the Bonn government carries ominous political portent reminiscent of similar legislation passed by the Bundestag in 1933 on Adolf Hitler's demand.

The overall policy of the CDU/CSU—SPD Coalition government has provided no confirmation that Bonn really seeks peaceful cooperation and detente in Europe.

Throughout the years of its existence, the GFR has been the only state in Europe to refuse abandonment of her territorial claims. Contrary to many other countries, the GFR government keeps stubbornly adherent to compromised principles of the cold war period. This has caused a certain isolation of the GFR among those Western states which support a policy of detente in East-West relations. A search for a way out of this structural crisis in the GFR foreign policy became one of the fundamental problems of the Grand Coalition government of the Christian Democrats (CDU—CSU) and Social Democrats (SPD), formed in December 1966. Proclamation of the so-called new Eastern policy by this government was, in fact, a diplomatic and political manoeuvre to exert influence on several levels at once, a manoeuvre which temporarilly brought certain specific benefits in some sectors.

In the first place, formation of the Grand Coalition government enabled the aversion of the internal danger of Christian Democracy becoming politically isolated. Winning over German Social Democracy to cooperate within the Grand Coalition resulted in the practical elimination of the opposition and, at the same time, created a convenient political alibi for external use. Secondly, the simulated manoeuvre of adapting the attitude of the majority of European States, which re-

sulted from external factors (of policy), was simply a reflection of the American policy of building bridges in Eastern Europe and to some extent relieved the unfavourable atmosphere prevailing in the West.

Most of the assets of the new Eastern policy of 1965—1969 did not go beyond those two sectors. This new language and political mimicry have not produced any results of greater significance in the relations with the Socialist countries. These countries were well aware that they were dealing with a new edition of the same old programme, with an improved external appearance and applied with the help of more subtle methods of subversion.

What the GFR government had been unable to obtain by physical force, due to the deterring power of the Soviet Union and of the Socialist countries allied to it, they tried to achieve with the help of perfected methods of subversion. Hence, they tried to set the Socialist countries at variance with each other, to detach them from the Soviet Union and finally to undermine their belief in Socialism and divide them from within.

The GFR encountered difficulties in its policy of subversion against the Socialist countries. Hence, *Ostforschung* scholars propagated the formation of a common front in "the Free World," in the psychological war directed against the Socialist countries.

Such a concept was already formulated by A. von Schack in 1962, in an article published in *Aussenpolitik* No. 11: "Authoritative leadership on the opposing side must be counter-balanced at long last by a concentration of strength and resources. It would also be a good thing if, for instance, a part of the excellent West German specialists were to entertain close con-

tact with their US counterparts, to work a joint long-term strategy and tactical guidelines."

A. von Schack suggested concrete proposals of strategy and tactics in the same article. Here is a sample:

"Just as over here (namely in the Western countries — author's note) we must prevent the emergence of revolutionary situations and appease and eliminate the ones that do arise, we should produce revolutionary situations and 'intensify' them in relentless coexistence competition with the opposite side. Our intellectual achievements must be infiltrated in a psychologically clever manner in the public life of the Communist States with the help of all the resources open to modern propaganda methods. Making use of nationality differences, as well as human weaknesses, such as curiosity, female vanity, search for pleasure... It is necessary to be unrelentless in demonstrating economic, moral and other weaknesses and failings, characteristic of the Communist State leadership, in order to awaken passive resistance among the population ("work slowly") and to sabotage. If subsequently, the Communist State in question takes measures against its individual delinquents, we must propagate such measures as unjustified as widely as possible, in order to awaken compassion and renewed ill-will against the Communist regime. Congresses, travel, etc. should be utilized for contacts with intellectuals in the Communist States. Discussion should not be avoided. Postal correspondence and cultural exchange should be encouraged, because the West may expect that by becoming familiar with foreign countries and gaining possibilities of a critical comparison, would alienate particularly the youth in many Communist countries from the ideology of their state leadership..." "...In this way,

people in Communist countries would either consciously or subconsciously become carriers of Western ideals. In this manner, feelings of distaste would be created, which forms a condition of internal changes achieveable without the use of force, of changes in their state system. This natural development must be speeded up through the exhaustive ceaseless effort by the opponent."

The wording taken from the above quotation provides a sufficiently clear illustration of the real intentions of GDR policy toward the Socialist countries. A. von Schack illustrated with absolute cynicism what we must expect from "peaceful" GFR policy. It must be emphasized that this article by von Schack was published in *Aussenpolitik*, a monthly which at that time was already edited with the official collaboration of Kiesinger himself. Similarly to the US Administration, also the subversive policy of the GFR government gave support to the revisionist and Zionist elements in the Socialist countries.

The Czechoslovak events, which began toward the end of 1967, and similar events in Poland, were organized almost exactly in conference with Alard von Schack's prescription, with the general participation of revisionist and Zionist elements and of other enemies of the Socialist system. But whenever any measures were taken against the activity of these elements, loud protests were immediately raised, again in conformance with von Schack's prescription, against the Socialist countries. For instance, Poland is accused of anti-Semitism, and those accusations lose all measure of decency by insinuating that the Poles participated in Nazi crimes committed on Jews. Those absurd accusations not only aroused the indignation of Polish society but added even greater force to its opposition

against the subversive activities conducted by the international centres of anti-Socialist subversion.

Thanks to the consistent attitude of People's Poland and to the stubborn determination with which it is defending not only Polish reasons of state but also the best interests of general European security, opinions on the necessity of recognizing the results of the Second World War are reaching increasingly wider circles in the West. Some Western bourgeois politicians, particularly in Europe, have expressed gratitude to the Poles for this type of outlook and position convergent with the interests of their countries.

There is no other road open to Germans in the GFR except to have the courage to make this simple and fundamental declaration; we abandon the Hallstein Doctrine, namely all claims at sole representation of the whole German nation; we agree to the consequences of the Second World War and express readiness to recognize the territorial and political status quo in Europe; we abandon all revanchist claims against Poland, Czechoslovakia and all other states; and lastly, we reject the use of force and "policy from positions of strength," now, in the future and forever, with respect to everybody.

Nobody as yet has made any such declaration on behalf of the GFR government, a declaration which might signify the departure from the cold war policy and opening the way for the normalization of GFR relations with Europe.

Whether the new SPD—FDP Coalition government headed by Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel will take the opportunity of this chance to normalize relations between the GFR and Poland, by recognizing the European status quo, remains to be seen. Or will they rack their brains over some new Eastern policy which

would recognize the old conservative and revisionist policy of the Christian Democrats? We shall have an answer to this question in due course.

OSTFORSCHUNG ACHIEVEMENTS PROPAGATED ABROAD

The affirmation that the GFR government policy of subversion against the Socialist community is meeting with serious difficulties because there are no diplomatic relations with the member-countries does not signify its complete paralysis. In actual fact, not only does the West German government take a signal part in subversive action conducted jointly by imperialist centres throughout the world and mainly by the USA, Israel and centres of world Zionism,[1]) but it also conducts wide-range propaganda abroad. This is strongly seasoned with political essence prepared in collaboration with scholars propagating *Ostforschung* ideas. The scope of this action is demonstrated by the fact that the Bonn Foreign Ministry Culture Department alone disposes of the sum of 300 million DM for purposes of cultural propaganda abroad. And, of course, the GFR propaganda activities abroad are by no means limited to the Foreign Ministry.

Taking things generally, the organizational structure of West German propaganda can be divided into three main sections. Central offices and ministries form the first one; mass media (the radio and television) — the

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[1]) T. Walichnowski, *Israel and the GFR*, Warsaw, 1967.

second; and specialist institutions and companies engaged in foreign propaganda — the third.

A considerable amount of information concerning propaganda activities conducted by the Bonn Foreign Ministry can be obtained from the Federal Government *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes, der Bundesregierung*. And so, for instance, in its edition No. 21 of February 16th, 1968, an extensive record can be found of the Foreign Ministry plans with regard to "popularization of the German language in the world." Those plans supply information on the network and organization of various GFR cultural and political centres. Here is a sample of information taken from the Bulletin:

— German is taught in between three and four hundred schools in South America.
— In the French-language-zone African countries, German is taught in over 200 schools. The situation as concerns teaching of the German language is particularly favourable in Indonesia and the United Arab Republic. It is estimated that about 10,000 Arab students trainees in the UAR speak German. In Korea (meaning South Korea — author's note) 95 per cent of the students were learning German in 1959.
— "The Goethe Institute for the Propagation of the German Language and Culture Abroad" possesses 117 branches abroad (one-third of them in Europe). Annually about 65,000 people attend German language courses organized by those branches. Apart from the Goethe Institute foreign branches, one hundred other cultural centres are active abroad, engaged among other things in teaching German.
— The Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Cologne grants scholarships to foreign students and to trade union,

cooperative and mass-media employees holding responsible positions. The Foundation remains in permanent corespondence contact with 5,500 people abroad.

— The Carl Duisberg Company, the Union of German People's Schools, the German Development Service, the German Service for Academic Exchange and the Alexander von Humboldt, these are the other institutes named by the Bulletin as engaging in political and cultural action abroad.

— Export of German books and films and their free of charge "disinterested" dispatch to schools and universities, cultural institutions and broadcasting stations abroad, constitutes yet another form of propaganda. According to the Bulletin, 3,444 German books were translated into foreign languages in 1965, whereas between 1948 and 1952 a total of about 30,000 books were translated. Not every institute engaged in activity abroad remains subject to the Foreign Ministry.

— Museums, libraries, public reading-rooms, foundations, institutes and schools situated abroad and subjected to different ministries, all contribute their own organizational and financial share to the spread of revanchist concepts forged by *Ostforschung*.

— All agencies of the Federal Administration make extensive use of mass-media to spread these concepts abroad. According to the Bulletin, 5,000 copies of documentary films were sent abroad from the GFR in 1965. *Deutschlandfunk* station broadcast a round-the-clock programme on five wave lengths through six transmitters to all European countries, as well as the Middle East and North Africa, servicing 120 million listeners. Another broadcasting station, *Die Deutsche Welle* broadcasts

in German to all the continents in the world, six times a day.

Alongside Federal government agencies and mass-media, all kinds of organizations, institutions and foundations, some of which have been mentioned above, form the third organizational section. Centres directly engaged in exerting political influence abroad are: Institute for Matters of Policy Development, the Foreign Relations Institute, the German Institute for Industrial Affairs, *Inter Nationes,* etc. The last mentioned institute is financed by the Foreign Ministry. It receives orders from various state organs to help foreign visitors of a specific kind, mostly writers, scientists, artists, etc. This service is extremely hospitable but, of course, not devoid of political purpose. *Inter Nationes* supplies the visitors with numerous propaganda materials, in the form of articles published in its *Sonderdienst* (Social Service) *Bulletin,* books, pamphlets, etc. Many intellectuals from the Socialist countries, Poland included, have benefitted from *Inter Nationes* hospitality.[2])

Mass-scale GFR political propaganda and subversive action addressed to the countries with which Bonn maintains diplomatic relations does not exhaust all such activities. The example of services rendered to intellectuals, also from the Socialist countries, by *Inter Nationes* proves that West German revanchists have given up efforts of direct subversion against the Socialist countries. They spare no financial resources on those aims with the help of which they endeavour to exert influence, in particular on the

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[2]) Compare with A. Brycht's description of his visit to Munich, *Raport z Monachium* (A Report from Münich), Warszawa, 1967.

political imagination of scholars, writers, artists, journalists and academic youth in the Socialist countries. All kinds of "political schemers" are particularly susceptible recipients of West German "friendliness." The GFR is particularly willing to translate books, show films and present theatre plays, organize exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and posters, and often awards prizes to authors and artists from the Socialist countries, in order to win them over to their specific political ends.

According to the intention of "Eastern studies" scholars, economic cooperation between Poland and the GFR should become another tangible element of this type of activity, given the term of "partnership." Closer cooperation of this sort, even at the cost of significant financial concessions, should be directly proportional with loosening of cooperation between Poland and the USSR. A frequently employed argument is comparison between the economic standards in Poland and in the GFR with the simultaneous affirmation that the reason behind Poland's allegedly difficult economic situation are her economic ties with the USSR. According to West German assertions, radical improvement could only be achieved by Poland's emancipation and her rapprochement with the West.

Within the framework of the "Eastern policy" the Bonn government intends to play the role of a benevolently smiling neighbour, stretching out toward the Socialist countries a handfull of West German marks. But at the same time, this government is financing revisionist organizations and revisionist scholars, with a thinly veiled suggestion: "speak two tones louder and advance two steps forward in order to enable the Federal government to advance at least one step along the road leading to our common goals."

The very existence of revisionist organizations and of their *Ostforschung* protectors provides an eloquent illustration of the double-faced policy conducted by consecutive GFR governments. As concerns those who, on hearing these words of good will and peaceful intentions and of the economic assistance the GFR government would grant, became inclined to be deluded by such illusory declarations, they should be reminded of Laokoon's words on seeing the Trojan Horse: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* [3]) (I fear the Greeks even when they bring gifts).

The more mistaken the GFR policy is in its assumptions, the greater are the human and material resources it allocates on its implementation. Also, the greater are the resources allocated on academic research in service of this policy. It would be extremely hazardous to rest satisfied with the statement that, being unrealistic, West German policy is condemned to failure. Its lack of reality does not reduce its danger. This has been given sufficient proof in the entire history of our century, as well as by the latest events. This danger can only be avoided by a vigilent and uniform policy on the part of all European states, and of the Socialist States in particular. In its plots against the Socialist States the GFR is by no means isolated. It is allied with the United States and other forces of world imperialism. To those forces Poland opposes a steadfast policy of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries.

All the Socialist countries should guard this alliance vigilantly.

"We are not conducting nor have we ever conducted, any campaign against the German nation," Władysław

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[3]) Virgil, *Eneid* — 2, 49.

Gomułka said in the Seym speech he delivered on October 21st, 1960.[4]) "We desire to live in peace and friendship with the whole German nation, just as we are living with the part which is living within the German Democratic Republic. But we have unmasked in the past and we shall continue unmasking in the future those forces within the German nation which strive at the re-emergence of militarism and add fuel to the cold war, in the insane hope for another *Drang nach Osten,* this time together with their similarly insane allies within the Atlantic Bloc. It is our sacred duty toward the Polish nation to continue unmasking those forces, which also lies in the best interests of peace."

Also in the interest of peace is the recognition of the frontiers on the Odra and the Lusatian Nysa. This recognition is the "starting point to begin the process of normalizing relations between the GFR and Poland."[5])

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[4]) Władysław Gomułka, *On the German Problem,* Warsaw, 1968, page 276.

[5]) From the speech of Prime Minister Józef Cyrankiewicz in the *Seym* on December 22nd, 1969, *Trybuna Ludu* of December 23rd, 1969.

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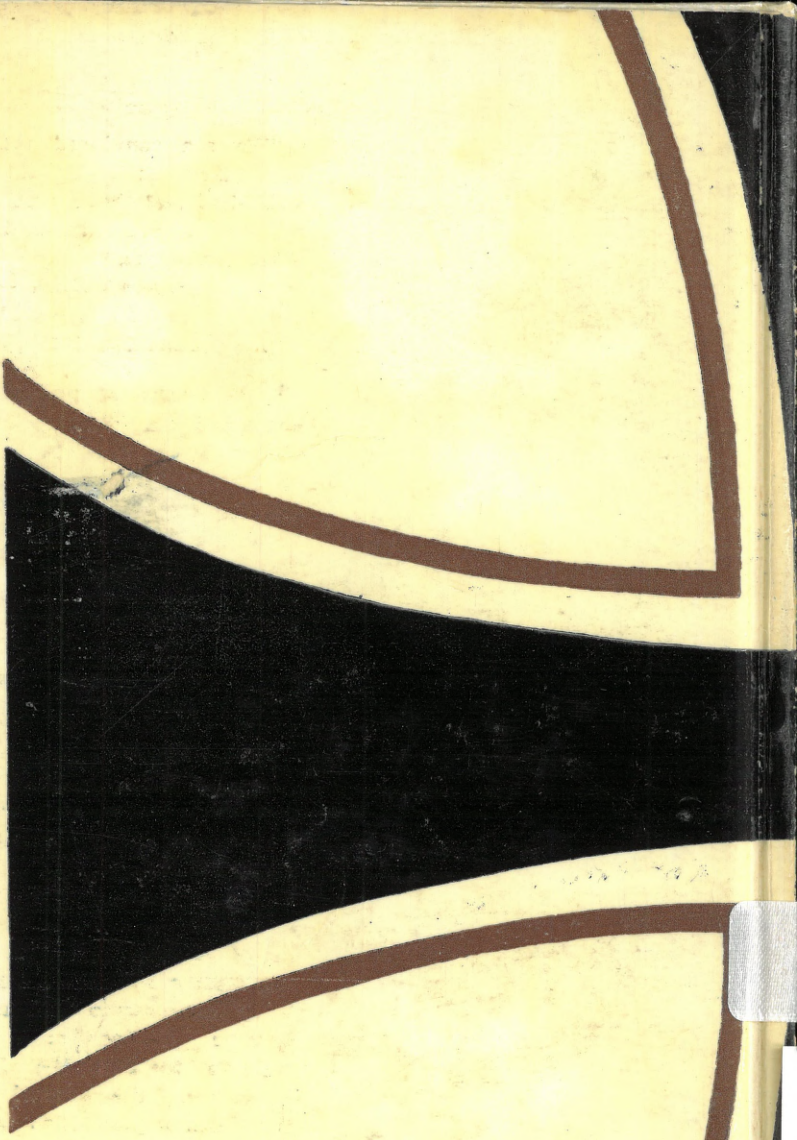

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